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The Shape of Things

✶

THE COLLAPSE OF LOYALIST RESISTANCE IN Catalonia came with such tragic suddenness that it is impossible to guess what the next few days will bring in Spain. Negrin and Del Vayo, in conference with the British and French ministers, have drawn up peace terms for submission to Franco, but as we go to press, it appears certain that the rebel command will hold out for unconditional surrender. In that case resistance in the Madrid-Valencia sector may go on. It is reported that the army and the trade unions are opposed to yielding. We doubt, however, that their stubborn courage will prevail in the face of the disaster in Catalonia and the peace negotiations already under way. But if Franco refuses even the minimum demands of a humane settlement, if he insists on carrying out reprisals against his defeated opponents and refuses to guarantee the expulsion of Italian and German forces and agents, then the war may go on. In that case it will become, more than ever, democracy's war; but we have no confidence that Great Britain and France will recognize it as such.

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ONLY AN OPEN, AGGRESSIVE STAND BY THE axis powers would be likely to convince Chamberlain and his French satellites that their very hope of existence lies in resisting rather than conniving at fascist encroachments in Spain—as elsewhere. Mussolini came close to taking such a stand when he allowed the *Popolo d'Italia* to proclaim Italy's determination to keep its forces in Spain until a political as well as military victory was completely assured. While no official reaction has come from the British Prime Minister, he is reported to have found the news disquieting. His assurance that "any threat to the vital interests of France" would evoke British "cooperation" is a reluctant acknowledgment of the danger. But meanwhile in Spain the fascist lines move swiftly toward the French border, and little time remains to translate fear into effective action. It seems likely that again the Western democracies will allow the destruction of a vigorous ally in the hope of appeasing an implacable foe.

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THE NEXT BRITISH GENERAL ELECTIONS, almost certain to be held this year, will be a turning-point in this generation's history. If Chamberlain maintains his supremacy, the result can only be disastrous. So plain are the alternatives that growing numbers of British anti-fascists are desperately striving to rally a common front of anti-government forces, embracing Laborites, Liberals, Communists, and even dissident Conservatives. That such a coalition would encounter manifold hazards is widely appreciated; but no other proposal has been put forward which seems as realistic or as satisfactory. Yet the leaders of the British Labor Party continue to maintain an unyielding and intolerant opposition to such a course; the executive committee has now expelled Sir Stafford Cripps, one of the staunchest advocates of a unified opposition. When the party officialdom spurned his newest appeal for unity Cripps submitted a detailed and persuasive memorandum to local party branches, where the urgency of the crisis is more deeply felt. His move was a violation of party discipline perhaps difficult to condone in ordinary times. But it is the essence of Cripps's stand that these are not ordinary times. In expelling him, the National Executive denounced those heretics who urge a common front and expressed anguish at the thought of "diluting" the party's "socialist program." Such protestations, coming from the cautious leaders of the Labor Party, sound singularly unconvincing. Their rhetoric merely obscures the crucial argument advanced in Cripps's memorandum, which is that labor's chances of winning a majority without allies in the next election are almost non-existent. Do the party leaders hope to do better in the 1945 elections—if there are any?

*

THE PURPOSE OF TVA, IN MR. ROOSEVELT'S vivid language, was to provide both a yardstick and a birch rod. Under the new agreement reached between the TVA and Commonwealth and Southern, it will still be a yardstick with which to measure the rates charged by private utilities but no longer a rod with which to discipline private companies. In buying Commonwealth and Southern's electric properties in Tennessee, the TVA has taken another step in the direction of replacing government competition with government ownership. It does so under pressure, not from socialistic theorists but from the utility industry, whose leaders, like most of our business men, would rather talk about the virtues of the competitive system than exercise them. There is much to be said for the relative efficiency of an outright government monopoly, but there is little excuse for giving Wendell L. Willkie more than his properties are worth. He asked for $86,300,000; TVA offered $55,000,000; the sale is now made for $78,600,000 in cash and $3,000,000 in other assets, enough to pay off bonds and preferred stock at par and still leave better than fifty cents on the dollar for the book value of the common. This involves recognition by the TVA for the first time of such slippery metaphysical terms as "good-will" and "going concern." Under the former Mr. Willkie included "the value of having the highest ratio of household usage and the lowest domestic rates in the United States." He neglected to add that his Tennessee properties possess these valuable assets only because they had to lower their rates in order to compete with the TVA.

*

M. MILAN STOYADINOVICH, YUGOSLAVIA'S Premier since 1935, has not been able to enjoy very long the electoral victory he won in December. Faced by insurrection within his own Cabinet over the Croatian question, he has resigned and been replaced by Dragescha Sevtkovich, who has formed a mixed ministry in which seven Serbs are offset by two Croats, two Slovenes, and two Mohammedans. The Croats, however, are apparently not members of the Croatian Party headed by Dr. Matchek, who commands almost unanimous support in his native province, and it remains to be seen whether Matchek will be willing to cooperate with the new Cabinet. To satisfy Croatian aspirations, more than petty reforms are needed. Revision of the constitution on federalist lines to give a large measure of autonomy to the Croats and other minorities is needed; and this would necessarily end the semi-dictatorship which has ruled in Yugoslavia since 1929. Solution along these lines may conflict with the foreign policy pursued by M. Stoyadinovich, who sought to maintain a precarious balance between the axis powers. Recently, alarmed by the German drive toward a trade monopoly in Yugoslavia, he has been cooperating more closely with Rome. Count Ciano visited Belgrade last month for one of those shooting parties which form such a favorite and appropriate background for fascist diplomacy. One result was a movement toward reconciliation of Yugoslavian and Hungarian differences which, if successful, will bolster Italy's waning influence in the Balkans. As the new Foreign Secretary at Belgrade has been Minister to Berlin and was formerly at Rome, he may be expected to carry on the balancing policy. But the Croats and other democratic parties are more favorable to the Western powers, and if they succeed in their domestic aims, they will probably also attempt a reorientation of foreign policy.

*

IT WOULD BE HARD TO THINK OF LESS auspicious circumstances for launching a conference of reconciliation than those which attend the opening of the Arab-Jewish parley in London. So fierce is the antagonism that the two delegations will be kept apart, with the honest brokers of Britain shuttling back and forth with proposals and counter-proposals. There is no sign

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of a truce in Palestine even during the discussions, and the delegations are all set to insist on the most extreme and uncompromising demands. The Arabs want permanent stoppage of Jewish immigration and of land sales to the Jews, complete abandonment of the idea that Palestine can ever become a national Jewish homeland, and an autonomous Palestine governed by Arabs with minority status for the Jews. All that the Jews ask, on the other hand, is complete adherence to the Balfour Declaration, with Palestine to be regarded first and foremost as their national homeland, abandonment of even temporary restrictions on immigration, full freedom of land purchase, and assurance that they will never be forced to accept a minority status. To add to the dismal prospects, there is nothing like unanimity even within the respective delegations. Zionists and anti-Zionists will represent the Jews, each in their own way; and as for the Arabs, it will be all the British can do to keep the terrorist followers of the Mufti, some of whom come straight from the penal colony on the Seychelles Islands, from the throats of the more moderate members of the Palestine Defense Party. Chamberlain plans to allow only a few weeks for the discussions. Viscount Gort, chief of the Imperial General Staff, is already busily establishing a new military base in Palestine, and in the remote contingency that no peaceful solution is reached in that time the British will forget all about appeasement and force their own Palestine plan on Arab and Jew alike.

*

IN ANNOUNCING THE THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN with a new emphasis on consumers' goods at a moment when most countries are immersed in rearmament programs, the Soviet Union has struck a blow for sanity in a world rapidly going mad. When the First Five-Year Plan was released some ten years ago, it was greeted with a storm of derision by the outside world. Experts of all varieties rushed into print to assert that it was utterly impracticable and unattainable. The Second Five-Year Plan, calling for even more striking advances, was received much more respectfully but with a certain anxiety by the capitalist world. By now we have become so accustomed to the Soviet's spectacular economic growth that it is no longer news. But it is a testimony to the Soviet Union's growing sense of security that for the first time a significant degree of attention is to be given to the light industries as well as to those turning out producers' goods. Altogether industrial production is scheduled to advance 88 per cent from 1937 to 1942. Output in the capital-goods industries is to rise 103 per cent, that of the consumers'-goods industries 69 per cent. Agricultural output is scheduled to be increased by more than half. Much more emphasis than ever before is placed on means of improving both quality and productivity of labor. While he would be a rash prophet who would assert that the Soviet Union is certain to have five years of peace to work out its plan, it is encouraging to find that the government is still willing to build on this expectancy.

*

A POLITICAL EARTHQUAKE MAY BE THE END result of the physical shocks which have taken such a frightful toll in Chile. The new government was faced with unprecedented tasks of relief and restoration only a month after it took office. The first reaction of all parties was one of support. For a time it looked as if the common disaster had softened political antagonisms. But this mood was short-lived. Already the parties of the right—which control both houses of the national congress—have rebelled against President Aguirre Cerda's announced plan to raise 2,500,000,000 pesos to reconstruct the devastated provinces and get production under way. On the left, Jorge Gonzales von Marees, leader of the new Socialist Vanguard Party—formerly the Nacistas—has demanded that foreign-debt payments be suspended immediately so that the necessary funds can be raised. Other left groups favor heavy taxes on income and profits and a levy on the gold reserves of the Bank of Chile. The immediate issue may be compromised. But the earthquake has precipitated a sharp political struggle which in any case could not have been long delayed.

*

THE DUPLESSIS GOVERNMENT IN QUEBEC continues to emulate if not quite to equal the methods of its Nazi model. On January 17 Colonel P. A. Piuze, Provincial Commissioner of Police in Quebec, sent a letter to Louis Fineberg of Montreal, informing him that if the apartment occupied by his son-in-law, Taub Muni, a member of the Communist Party, was not vacated within four days, the whole tenement, of which Mr. Fineberg was the proprietor, would be padlocked. Under the provisions of the padlock law any premises used for the purpose of disseminating Communist propaganda can be peremptorily padlocked without court order. Until recently the police have been content to shut down meeting halls, printing plants, and organizational offices; while private homes were raided and ransacked, the right of the occupant to his place of dwelling was not challenged. The first eviction from a private residence occurred last July when François Xavier Lessard with his wife and two children was forcibly ousted from his home by the Quebec police. Lessard and a comrade were later arrested and convicted for reentering the premises. The police have now refined their technique. Instead of enforcing the evictions themselves, they send notes of warning to landlords whose premises are occupied by radicals or trade-union leaders. The case of Taub Muni is only one of many. That the people of Quebec are not quite as enthusiastic about the padlock regime as Quebec's little

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Führer would have us believe was demonstrated in the recent Montreal elections when the Duplessis candidate went down to ignominious defeat. The federal government has refused to disallow the padlock law or to refer it to the Supreme Court because it does not wish to alienate the Catholic church.

*

HOLLYWOOD HAS TAKEN THE LEAD IN WHAT promises to be the most vigorous peace drive this country has seen in recent years. Aroused by the recent invasion of the community by two fascist representatives—Vittorio Mussolini and Leni Riefenstahl—and by the sight of cargoes of scrap iron and oil leaving San Pedro harbor to arm the fascist powers, a Committee of Fifty-Six has drawn up a "Declaration of Democratic Independence" for signature by the people of the United States. Composed of leading producers, directors, actors, and actresses, the committee calls upon the President and Congress to sever all economic connection between the United States and Germany "until such time as Germany is willing to reenter the family of nations in accordance with humane principles of international law." Committees of Fifty-Six—the original number of the signers of the Declaration of Independence—are being formed in cities and towns throughout the United States with a view to obtaining twenty million signatures as rapidly as possible. Nor has Japan been overlooked. A group of forty-four leading actors and actresses, including many members of the original Committee of Fifty-Six, have dispatched a telegram to President Roosevelt urging an embargo against Japan as a violator of the Kellogg-Briand pact. Circulars have been issued calling for the boycott of silk and other Japanese products. Nothing that the American people can do will rally the forces of democracy more effectively than to back the movement so vigorously launched in Hollywood.

The Doctor Dilutes His Prescription

THE present world situation is too tense for us to continue to pursue an ambiguous foreign policy. It is time we made up our minds as to whether we can safely remain indifferent to what happens in the outside world or have a direct interest in preserving European peace and, if that proves impossible, in insuring that the fascist powers do not win control of the Continent. There are many signs of a growth of public sentiment in favor of taking the second position. But if the issues are to be clarified, leadership is required, and since Mr. Roosevelt is known to have formed definite opinions on the part America should play in world affairs, we have the right to expect that leadership from the White House. Instead, every time the President has stated a firm and clear policy he has quickly nullified it by explaining he meant something rather different. What effects he intends to produce by such wavering we do not know; its actual result is to confuse the public mind and afford aid and comfort to the enemies of democracy at home and abroad.

Most of the furor over the case of the French air mission might have been avoided if the matter had been handled in a simpler and more straightforward manner. It was a mistake in the first place to attempt to keep the mission a secret. Such secrets are hard to keep, and their premature leakage inevitably gives them a sinister air. This aspect of the affair, however, was undoubtedly seized upon and exaggerated by the opposition. Clearly the President did nothing he was not fully entitled to do. A much greater error was made when the President summoned the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate to the White House for a conference without making clear how secret the proceedings were to be kept. If he did ask for pledges of silence, it is incredible that he should have believed they would be observed. He ought to know his Senators and their inability to resist reporters better than that. The legitimate inference was that he wished to follow Hitler's speech with the strongest possible warning to the dictators. In the light of subsequent events one can only conclude that he was equally concerned with leaving open a line of retreat.

The general tenor of Mr. Roosevelt's remarks to the committee seems tolerably clear. He told them that the situation in Europe was dangerous—which any intelligent newspaper reader knows. He impressed on them the obvious fact that our interests would be seriously affected if Britain and France were overwhelmed by the fascist powers. He suggested that it would be a wise policy to give these countries all the economic support possible, and perhaps added that it would be well if the Neutrality Act were revised with this end in view.

If after the meeting Mr. Roosevelt had issued a summary of his talk in some such terms it would have taken the wind out of the sails of his political opponents, prevented that distortion of his remarks of which he now so bitterly complains, and had a most salutary effect in Europe. Even as it was, the leakage from the Senate brought a hysterical reaction from Berlin and Rome, indicating quite clearly a fear lest an American stand against aggression force them to make serious revisions in their plan of attack.

But once again, after waiting three days, the President decided to dilute to the point of vagueness his realistic prescription for a foreign policy. Such tactics must have a deplorable result in Europe, encouraging the dictators to believe America politically divided on foreign issues

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and unlikely to interfere with their adventures. The manner of the Presidential climb-down was undignified. The press is often enough unfair to Mr. Roosevelt, but on this occasion there is no reason to suppose that it inaccurately reported the Senators from whom it obtained its information. If the Senators garbled his remarks, it is partly his own fault for giving them the opportunity. His attack on the press was all the more uncalled for because his general line of foreign policy—when he sticks to it—receives a great deal more newspaper support than his domestic policy.

Much more serious was his restatement of foreign policy in four points which not merely seem to deny what he is said to have told the Senate committee but were much weaker than the passages on the same subject in his New Year's message to Congress. On that occasion he said that we can and must avoid "any action or lack of action which will encourage, assist, or build up an aggressor." If, starting from this point, Mr. Roosevelt has the courage to pursue a policy designed to put the economic weight of this country behind the defense of democracy, we believe he will obtain general support. Given strong leadership, we see no reason why revision of the Neutrality Act—admittedly futile in its present form—should not be carried through Congress. But shilly-shallying will inevitably play into the hands of the isolationists at home as well as into those of the aggressors abroad. We cannot evade the fact that we have great power in the world—by far the greatest economic power. By the exercise of that power we have a more than hopeful chance of avoiding the necessity of converting it into military power and engaging in war to save our independence. It is in no spirit of knight errantry that we should take steps to check fascism in Europe. We are prompted to do so by a realistic appraisal of our own welfare and future safety.

The "Fink" Racket

IT IS doubtful whether any Congressional investigation has ever uncovered a more fetid situation than that revealed in the report on strike-breaking prepared by the La Follette Civil Liberties' Committee. That professional strike-breaking agencies exist is not in any sense a new discovery. But the report of the La Follette committee shows that they carry on a racket of almost incredible proportions which is closely tied in with legitimate business. The report mentions more than 108 plants at which strike-breakers of one type or another have been employed in the past five years. The profits of the business are huge. Remington Rand paid $145,000 for "services" in the 1936 strike. No fewer than thirty-five regular strike-breaking agencies are listed; some of them, such as Bergoff's, the William J. Burns International Detective Agency, Pinkerton's, and the employers' associations, Associated Industries and the National Metal Trades Association, are organizations of considerable size. An appendix lists the names and criminal records, where known, of some 150 strike-breakers or strike guards, the agencies for which they worked, and the strikes in which they participated. Some of these men are known by affectionate nicknames—"Chowderhead" Cohen, "Boilermaker" Williams, "Snake-Eyes Kid" Steinie, and "Stinkfoot" McVey. About a third of the men have criminal or arrest records, their crimes including burglary, rape, larceny, and other assorted acts of violence.

Three distinct categories of operators are listed—ordinary strike-breakers, or "finks," who take the jobs of the strikers; strike guards, who are hired ostensibly to protect the property of the company but whose actual function is in most cases to stir up violence; and "missionaries," or word-of-mouth propagandists, whose job it is to break down the morale of the strikers by spreading confusion and dissension among them. The tactics used by the "missionaries" are revealed in a letter of solicitation from W. Howard Downey and Associates to the Republic Steel Corporation. On paper with the letterhead "Specialists in word-of-mouth propaganda since 1915," the firm announced, "We have a whole kit of expressions and remarks accumulated by us in the last twenty years that have proved themselves in the handling of industrial disturbances time and again. . . . After hearing a few remarks that we have up our sleeves you should see how apprehensive a striker becomes." The committee found that strike-breakers are rarely bona fide workers, and that "guards" are seldom interested in protecting property. The sole function of both these groups is to break strikes, and there is a heavy premium on their using violence to achieve this purpose.

Sixteen states have attempted to curb these practices by legislation, but the results have been far from satisfactory. The Colorado law, for example, did not prevent the Ludlow massacre. Strike-breaking is an interstate business connected with large corporations which are themselves often interstate in character. It can only be controlled effectively on a national basis. Regulation of the strike-breaking industry through registration and restrictions on detective agencies and employers' associations would necessitate extensive and cumbersome administrative machinery. For this reason the La Follette committee very properly believes that the most feasible approach to the problem is through legislation forbidding employers to engage agencies which resort to the methods described above. Such legislation would naturally fall within the sphere of the newly established civil-liberties section of the Department of Justice and should be relatively easy to enforce. It would not interfere in any way with the right of an employer to provide legitimate watchmen or guards for his premises. But it

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would subject him to heavy penalties for acts of terrorism, intimidation, and deception such as have been almost accepted practice in American industry. Congress has a chance to make at least partial amends for its disgraceful action in knuckling to Dies by immediately enacting into law the proposals now being drawn up by the La Follette committee to curb these outrages.

Decline of Homer Martin

NO MAN ever deserved a vacation more than Harry Bennett, Ford's personnel manager, and the growing uproar in the United Automobile Workers of America must provide a pleasant accompaniment to his present trip to South America. For the third successive season the Ford company has managed to escape an organizing drive, and no small part of the credit goes to Mr. Bennett's skilful manipulation of factional differences within the union. When the sitdowners came out of the General Motors plants in February, 1937, they carried banners reading, "G. M. Today, Tomorrow Ford"; but tomorrow is still around the corner. The beating of Richard Frankensteen and Walter Reuther at the gates of the Ford plant in Dearborn in the fall of 1937 focused public attention sharply on the totalitarian methods that govern the factories of our foremost collector of early Americana. A return engagement was scheduled, and plans were made for a great Ford organizing drive to reach its culmination in January, 1938, at the peak of the production season. But it was clear that whoever organized the 80,000 employees of Ford's River Rouge plant would probably control the U. A. W. A., and jealousy came to Ford's rescue. Homer Martin and his supporters called off the distribution of leaflets and passed a motion instructing Reuther to remain in Milwaukee at an executive-board meeting on the day the return engagement had been scheduled to take place. The drive was wrecked.

With the other major motor companies asking, "Why don't you organize Ford?" new preparations were made for an organizing campaign this winter. The C. I. O. stepped in and arranged a peace—or at least a truce—between the contending factions in the U. A. W. A. The C. I. O. convention in Pittsburgh voted to boycott Ford if he refused to recognize the union. The U. A. W. A. on the advice of the C. I. O. set up a Ford organizing committee consisting of Reuther, Delmond Garst of St. Louis, and Charles Millard of Canada. Six million pieces of Ford boycott literature were prepared and printed. Once more internal dissension saved Ford, but this time it is clear that the weakness of the union lies not merely in political "factionalism" but in the egotism of Homer Martin. That Martin ignored the Ford organizing committee and his own executive board in meeting secretly with Bennett is clear, though the Martin and the anti-Martin forces differ in their accounts of how the meetings were brought about and what happened at them. Testimony before the Dies committee revealed disquieting relations between Martin and the anti-labor demagogue Coughlin; and the forces opposed to Martin suggest that the radio priest was the intermediary who brought Bennett and Martin together. The Martin version is hardly less damaging, for on his side it is claimed that the go-between was John Gillespie, former Detroit chief of police, a curious figure who seems to appear and reappear in Ford labor negotiations, making agreements on behalf of the company, only to be disowned by it later. It is significant that Martin's desire to keep his relations with Coughlin and Bennett secret, at least for a time, was betrayed by both. The first had stenographic reports made of what he had promised Martin would be "off the record" talks before meetings of priests. At the "secret" meetings between Bennett and Martin, a suspicious coincidence occurred: reporters happened accidentally to be at just the right place in the well-guarded Ford plant at the moment when Ford himself accidentally dropped into Bennett's office while Martin was there.

The relations between Martin and the Ford company have now been made the occasion for charges filed with the National Labor Relations Board. The Ford company, Harry Bennett, John Gillespie, Homer Martin, and his four supporters are accused of unfair labor practices in that they acted to convert the union "into an organization supported, controlled, and dominated by the Ford Motor Company, Harry Bennett, and John Gillespie, their agents and representatives." The account given by Percy Llewellyn, president of Ford Local No. 600, of what took place is most disquieting. According to Llewellyn, Bennett offered to place the notorious Ford Service Department at Martin's disposal, to rehire only workers who swore allegiance to Martin personally and could prove they were not Communists, and to deal with the union only through Martin. Company unionism pure and simple is no longer possible in the automobile industry; Ford needs an "independent" union that he can control.

Countering the NLRB charges, Martin has filed a bill of complaint with the Detroit Circuit Court accusing John L. Lewis and other C. I. O. officials of conspiracy to destroy the U. A. W. and take over its membership. He also charges his opponents on the executive board with plotting to turn the union over to the Communist Party.

Martin, who had an overwhelming majority of the executive board with him a year ago, is slipping badly; the prestige of an honest agreement with Ford is his last hope of remaining a power in the labor movement. It will be interesting to learn what really happened between them.

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"War Plots" and Politics

BY KENNETH G. CRAWFORD

Washington, February 6

TO A considerable section of the press, domestic as well as foreign, President Roosevelt marched to the Rhine last week and then beat a hasty retreat back to the Potomac: first he authorized the sale of bombers to the French and then repudiated the notion that he had entered into some sort of secret European military alliance that would take the United States down the path to war. That there is a difference between a military alliance and a decision to sell, for cash, desperately needed defensive equipment to one of the menaced European democracies failed to penetrate the intellects in editorial front offices, or if it did, the distinction was deliberately ignored, as it was by leaders of the Senate isolationist bloc. In any event, the public here and abroad was informed by the President at his press conference on February 3 that he was still against entangling alliances.

Actually, the President's four-point pronouncement on foreign policy changed neither his position nor his direction. He had said in his annual message to Congress four weeks earlier that he proposed to give force to American ideals by action stronger than words but short of war. He had informed members of the Military Affairs Committee at a private conference on January 31 that he intended to sell planes to France. As far back as his Chicago quarantine speech in 1937 this policy had been in process of formulation. Only a few weeks before the historic press conference, it had been invoked in both a positive and a negative sense—by the sale of fighting planes to Great Britain and by public exposure of an airplane company which sold equipment to Japan in the face of a request not to. There can be no doubt that the President will go through with the French plane deal, exercising his authority as commander-in-chief of the armed forces and his constitutional prerogative of dealing with foreign powers. His Senatorial critics may tear their togas to ribbons in protest, but they cannot stop him.

Why, then, the commotion? Most of the explanation emerges from an examination of its sources. Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota was the first to get his breath after the President had given the lie direct to the "boob" responsible for the story that he (Roosevelt) had spoken of the Rhine as our new defensive frontier. Nye was one of the five Senators through whom the story of what went on at that conference leaked out, but he was not responsible for the application of Stanley Baldwin's phrase to the Roosevelt policy. (No one in Washington was responsible. It first appeared in dispatches from Europe giving the reaction to the news of the secret conference.) Nye's somewhat self-conscious answer was the counter-question: Where, then, is our new frontier? It must be remembered that the North Dakota Senator is a professional neutral. He lectures on the subject throughout the country, and it is good advertising for him to jump into every controversy over it. Only once since he made himself famous as the munitions investigator has he abandoned strict isolationism. That was just before his 1938 campaign when he advocated lifting the Spanish embargo, aroused Catholic opposition, and thus created an issue which helped him win reelection.

With Nye stands Bennett Clark of Missouri, a more consistent and able isolationist, who dreams of pushing Roosevelt into a Wilsonian position and riding past him into the White House. Clark seems to be willing to stake his political future on the bet that public opinion, in a showdown, would support isolationism as against cooperation with the democracies to check the Western dictatorships. Third in the triumvirate of isolationist leaders is Hiram Johnson of California, who suffers from severe nostalgia for the days when he amounted to something as one of the little band of wilful, finally victorious, battlers against Wilson and the League of Nations. These leaders have gathered to themselves most of the Roosevelt haters, who will join any opposition claque.

William E. Borah of Idaho has been removed from the scene temporarily by illness, a circumstance that accounts in some measure for the confusion on Capitol Hill. George Norris of Nebraska, another survivor of the League fight, one of the two men left in the Senate of those who braved ostracism to vote against war in 1917, has indorsed the President's policy without reservation. Why not equip the French and British to resist Hitlerism at the Rhine? he asks. How better can this country fight the Nazi fire, which he considers far more devastating than the imperial German kind? How better prevent war in the first instance and American entry in the second? His example is having its effect on Senatorial opinion.

Just how public opinion divides no one quite knows, not even the President. While he gave no ground in his press-conference statement of policy, he did give the impression of partial surrender by bowing to the Senatorial demand for clarification of his policy. Contrary to the interpretation some newspapers placed on the affair, there was nothing impulsive about his talk to the correspondents. He was cool and deliberate, particularly in

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delivering his sharp rebuke to the press, which, by and large, had not been particularly unfriendly to the democracy-arming project. Roosevelt is determined to keep the newspapers in the opposition camp, where they will not be mistaken for neutrals or heeded as non-partisans. He knows they will be against him 90 per cent of the time anyway. Having lost his power over Congress in domestic affairs, he is playing for control in the foreign sphere. At his Friday press conference he was again the leader.

If there was fumbling at the White House, it was in the over-cautious moves leading up to the declaration of policy. The accident which revealed the presence of an official of the French Air Ministry aboard a Douglas bomber imparted an air of secrecy to the airplane deal. This was thickened by the subsequent delay in informing Congress and by circulation of the unverified but generally credited story that Chief of Staff Malin Craig opposed sale of the bomber to France because such a transaction would violate the War Department rule against selling a newly designed military plane to a foreign power until a year after the second of its kind had been produced. Criticism might have been silenced by arguments for selling to France planes of a design that would equal German ships and for giving to Douglas experience in mass production before the start of the American rearmament program. But these arguments were withheld from the public while the isolationists dinned into its ears their charge that France was receiving unprecedented and unjustified preference. (Even the British bought only planes of a type already in production.) The final mistake was in trusting a full Senatorial committee to let the substance of a White House discussion leak out in ungarbled form.

At his press conference the President resumed command of a situation that had got out of hand. There is every indication that he will continue to run the foreign-affairs show in his own way. He may change the tempo occasionally to suit public response, but the script, calling for assistance to the democracies in their efforts to arm, will be followed. There will be no quantity sales of aircraft equipment to the dictatorships regardless of how loud the Republicans shout for impartiality. The Senate will have small opportunity at this session to make effective its opposition, however strong this becomes. The President is not likely to court defeat by asking that the Spanish embargo be lifted or that the Neutrality Act be amended to give him more latitude in following his chosen course. He has all the power he needs to cope with the current problem—that of strengthening France and Great Britain in the air in the hope of averting another Munich.

Dope for French Nerves

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, January 23

GREAT BRITAIN and France sit tight, some people hoping for the best, some preparing for the worst. In the lobbies of the French Chamber of Deputies the propagandists have been preaching optimism as energetically as they can: "The Spaniards hate the very sight of an Italian. . . . The Italians are sure to be kicked out of Spain once Franco has won the war. . . . Terrible rows between Spaniards and Italians at Tarragona. . . . Spanish women emptying their chamber pots on Italian soldiers as they march past. . . . There aren't any Italian soldiers in Spain, really. Seventeen thousand. The *Jour* says so this morning. The *Matin* says so. . . . *Votre Chamberlain n'est pas un imbécile.* . . . Penarroya, Rio Tinto. . . . A signed agreement with Franco already in his pocket. . . . Reconstruction loan—la Cité de Londres. . . . Mussolini will want some too. . . . Once the Spanish war is over there'll be no more spitting on France. He'll eat out of our hand. The Italians are really frightened of Germany. The Brenner, the Brenner. . . . Dr. Schacht—very good, excellent. Inflation in Germany. It'll demoralize the Germans completely. A thousand million marks for a toothpick. They can't fight a war under such conditions. . . . *Tout va tres bien, tout va tres bien.* . . . Very sad, very, very sad about Barcelona. Such heroes! But it may be all to the good."

For a couple of days France was acutely worried. Mr. Chamberlain had just come back from Rome with nothing to show except a firm and frequently repeated promise from the Duce that his troops would be withdrawn from Spain as soon as Franco had won a complete victory. This promise was emphasized to M. Daladier with great vigor from the British end, as was also the fact that Mr. Chamberlain believed in the good faith of Signor Mussolini—even though Signor Mussolini had signed the non-intervention agreement, and had agreed to withdraw his troops from Spain, and had given a thousand other promises all of which had been broken. And now he said in effect: "I signed the non-intervention agreement, but my troops are in Spain and there they shall remain until final victory, and heaven help

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the French—on whom I spit—if *they* dare to violate the non-intervention agreement." Mr. Chamberlain no doubt agreed, and wrote to Mr. Attlee that we must all stick to non-intervention or else there would be grave danger of an extension of the conflict, and that it was no use discussing the matter in Parliament just now.

A week ago a lot of Frenchmen were pretty worried, among them M. Daladier. Here he was, just back from Tunis and Algiers, very popular as a result of his successful tour, which had been not only a personal success for him but a brilliant demonstration of the idiocy of the Italian claims on Tunis and Corsica. Not a single Corsican, or Tunisian, or Algerian wanted to become Italian. Even the Italians in Tunisia had hastened to apply for French citizenship—25,000 out of about 95,000 in the last two months—since the row in Rome started. The French empire had never displayed its loyalty to France with greater vigor. It was a great triumph for M. Daladier. Not an inch of territory. And no legal quibbles, please, about territorial and non-territorial claims. Everybody seemed very pleased; even M. Flandin must have been pleased, for was it not he who had said a year ago that France should become an "empire power" rather than a "European power"?

And then last Sunday, the day after Mr. Chamberlain returned from Rome, M. Daladier presided over the Petit Congrès of the Radical Party. The delegates were all hot and bothered about Spain. Senator Berthod, who two months earlier, at the congress at Marseilles, had advocated a revision of the Polish alliance and the Soviet pact, and who also seemed to think that France should become predominantly an "empire power," now declared that this empire would be *fichu* if the Italians remained in the Balearics. The whole congress cheered with impressive unanimity. Good old Radicals! One almost expected them to shout, after the manner of the Communists in 1936, *"Des avions pour l'Espagne!"* They did not go quite so far. They had always been ardent non-interventionists, but now they had become alarmed and angry. A little late in the day, but still. Some of them booed at the mention of M. Bonnet, and they unanimously adopted a resolution which, among other things, said: "In spite of the obligations entered into by the Non-Intervention Committee, Italy has not ceased, according to her own admissions, to support General Franco with war material and soldiers. By establishing herself lastingly in Spain, in the Balearics, or in Spanish Morocco, Italy would constitute the gravest danger to France's Mediterranean routes; and the Radical Committee calls on the government to examine the situation with great vigilance."

Courtesy *l'Humanite*

Mussolini

Daladier

It may be taken for granted that both this resolution and M. Berthod's speech were fully approved by Daladier. On the previous day he had received a visit from M. Blum, who talked to him about Spain; and M. Blum seems to have left with the impression that M. Daladier was not satisfied to allow events in Spain to "take their course," and was at least willing to "relax" the frontier control. But there was this awkward problem of Mr. Chamberlain: for if Mr. Chamberlain wanted Franco to win quickly and get the Spanish war over, any French help to the Spanish government would obviously be in contradiction to British policy; and Mussolini would then have the satisfaction of being able to say that he had driven a wedge between England and France. Thus, while feeling very sympathetic toward the Spanish government, and perhaps willing to do a little bit for them, and also rather worried about his empire routes, M. Daladier could not quite make up his mind what to do; and at the Radical Congress he simply refrained from speaking about Spain.

M. Bonnet, however, had no doubts on the subject. He returned from Geneva on Tuesday, after seeing Lord Halifax, who had told him all about the Rome visit. Lord Halifax was not particularly pleased with this visit. But M. Bonnet thought it was all right, and adopted whole-heartedly Mr. Chamberlain's point of view. And what is more, he persuaded the Cabinet to adopt it. No doubt objections were raised and misgivings expressed, but on the whole M. Bonnet's point of view prevailed. Only on one concrete point, according to the *Jour*, was he unable to get the Cabinet to follow him, and that was when he proposed the immediate appointment of a diplomatic envoy to Burgos. But there was to be no real aid to the Spanish government.

The arguments used by the officially inspired press are similar to those used by the propagandists in the Chamber lobby, which I have already quoted. Another argument is that France has no guns or munitions or airplanes to spare; and if it starts sending armaments to Spain, Italy will send twice as much and there will be no end to it; and finally a European war will develop.

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Mr. Chamberlain said so. And M. Emile Roche in the *République,* one of the great pro-Munich papers, has been trying to show that Mussolini's Spanish war has all been due to economic difficulties: Spain is only a financial bargaining counter; he will stay in Spain until he gets enough money from London and is in a position to prop up his regime at home. According to the same writer, the anti-Jewish laws in Italy are also entirely due to economic difficulties. So all will be well.

It is only fair to credit M. Bonnet with a rather impressive consistency. It will be remembered how disappointed Mr. Chamberlain was last April and May when, partly as a result of the armaments which the French had allowed during a few short weeks to reach Barcelona, the Spanish government held up completely the great Aragon offensive. At Tortosa France got stuck. On May 20 the diplomatic correspondent of the *Times* wrote a very illuminating article in which he spoke about the "depression" and "anxiety" caused in British government quarters by the failure of the Republicans to allow themselves to be beaten, a failure which was jeopardizing the Anglo-Italian agreement. A couple of weeks later Mr. Chamberlain "suggested" to the French that they close the frontier properly—which they did, on June 13.

M. Bonnet has been striving ever since he became Foreign Minister ten months ago to arrive at an agreement with Italy; and, like Mr. Chamberlain, he has apparently felt that Spain was the great obstacle in the way of the Franco-Italian entente. At Genoa last May Mussolini said that there could be no agreement with France so long as France and Italy were fighting "on different sides of the barricades in Spain." Since June 13 France has not been doing any "fighting," but if Italy still goes on "spitting at France" it is because there is still danger that France may suddenly decide to help the Spanish government. And the "spitting" is a warning.

Shortly before the Czech crisis of May 21, M. Bonnet was greatly worried about the situation, and thought that it was necessary to secure Italy's neutrality somehow—for there was then the danger of a war over Czechoslovakia—and the most obvious way to do so was to stop fighting "on the opposite side of the barricades," in other words, to close the French frontier. M. Daladier disagreed with him at the time, but less than a month later the frontier was closed, upon a "suggestion" from London. M. Bonnet has not lost his belief, in spite of all the "spitting," that Italy may yet be won over—at least to some extent—if only it is not interfered with in Spain. And judging from yesterday's *Temps,* the objection that Italy may break its word and not clear out of Spain and the Balearics is met as follows: If Italy really fails to clear out, France will occupy Minorca and Spanish Morocco. And so the empire routes will be more or less saved. But will the French be bold enough to do it when it comes to the point?

GOOD OLD ITALIAN HOSPITALITY

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As for the anxiety felt at Toulouse and other towns of France near the "third potentially hostile frontier," an anxiety loudly voiced by the Radical *Dépêche de Toulouse,* it is said that there is nothing to worry about; and prominence is given in the press to Franco's invitation to anyone to "go and look for German airdromes near the French border." Altogether the discreet but important role played by Germany in Spain is somehow being overlooked.

Now that things have come to such a pass, one can only hope that Mr. Chamberlain's and M. Bonnet's calculations prove correct; that "Spain for the Spaniards" will become a reality; that Italy will loosen its bonds with Berlin, and become reasonable in return for a loan in London and some "non-territorial" concessions from France, and also that the Germans will be turned out of Spain. The fact that most of the bombing of Barcelona is now done by Germans is an unpleasant reminder that they are still very much there.

In any case, the press has been soothing the nerves of the French public with this dope; my old concierge has not been affected by it—"*Nous serons encore baisés cette fois,*" he remarked gloomily. But on the whole the dope has not been without effect.

The A. M. A. Hedges

BY DOROTHY PEARSON

ON THE subject of group health insurance the American Medical Association has planted itself squarely on both sides of the fence. The association is definitely for and against it. Several state medical societies are sponsoring voluntary health insurance and "socialized medicine," while, nationally, organized medicine continues its furious offensive against the existing group-health experiments. There were no signs, a few months ago, that the A. M. A. was anything but consistently reactionary. Group practice and group payment were "socialism, communism, inciting to revolution." This sudden change of heart—or change of strategy—coincides so neatly with the indictment of the organization by a federal grand jury for violation of the anti-trust law that it is reasonable to infer that the Department of Justice has the A. M. A. worried.

The department showed consideration for the sensitive feelings of the indicted doctors and did not issue bench warrants for their arrest. But they must appear for arraignment sooner or later. They have announced that they will fight the indictment "to the utmost, with every means" in their power. And those means are not inconsiderable. On January 25, A. M. A. counsel made a motion in federal court to question the grand jurors on the evidence presented in the nine weeks' hearings. Obviously, they would gain a tremendous advantage if they could have access to this testimony, which has been kept secret thus far. The next move undoubtedly will be to file a demurrer, on the ground that the members of the A. M. A. were not in "trade" but in a "learned" profession and therefore could not be considered in interstate commerce in the ordinary sense of the word. This question will be violently argued, for it is on this point that the whole case rests. The Department of Justice is expected to cite a British case in which a medical group was held to have been engaged in trade or commerce.

If the demurrer is sustained by the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, the department will appeal to the Supreme Court. But if the lower court decides that the A. M. A. is engaged in "trade" and overrules the demurrer, a date will be set and the case will go on trial, probably sometime in the spring. The grand jury indicted the American Medical Association for conspiracy and restraint of trade, and the government has steered clear of the issues involved in the struggle between the association and the health-insurance groups. The Attorney General emphasized this when he stated, "It is not within our province to see that any one method of furnishing medical service shall prevail over another. It is our business to see that restraints of trade and coercive practices are stopped."

The Group Health Association of Washington, D. C. —whose testimony was of special importance—has had considerable experience with just such "coercive practices." It's been a battle since the day the G. H. A. opened shop. Government employees organized this cooperative to provide themselves with complete medical care, with special emphasis on preventive medicine, at a yearly cost of about $25 for each member. This group in particular has been anathema to organized medicine because the New Deal has given it material and moral support. The A. M. A., working through the Medical Society of the District of Columbia, saw to it that the doctors and the members of the Group Health Association were refused admittance to every private hospital in Washington. The argument was that the cooperative was resorting to "unethical medical practices." In the interest of "ethics" one G. H. A. member was sent home from the hospital after having been prepared for an emergency operation. Not content with such sweeping measures, the medical so-

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ciety singled out several of the G. H. A. doctors for special attack. Dr. Mario Scandiffio, the pediatrician of the association, was dropped from the Medical Society, and the medical director, Dr. R. E. Selders, was accused of unethical practice by the Harris County Medical Society of Texas. (Since the indictment three of the G. H. A. doctors have been admitted to the Garfield Hospital, and the charges against Dr. Selders have been dismissed.)

Other testimony, at the hearings, even though it did not figure in the indictment, carried great weight. No one is better acquainted with the obstructionist tactics of the A. M. A. than Dr. Michael Shadid, who came from Elk City, Oklahoma, to testify. The much-publicized Cooperative Hospital at Elk City, of which Dr. Shadid is medical director, has faced well-organized opposition from the start. Two thousand farmers, share-croppers, and small-town business men organized this cooperative and built a hospital—a fine modern building which has been enlarged three times. Each member family buys a share of stock for $50 and pays $24 a year for complete medical care. Glowing accounts from outside investigators tell of the remarkable success of this venture. But the stand-pat doctors in the vicinity have kept up a running fire against Dr. Shadid and his staff, and the Oklahoma Medical Society, which of course dropped Shadid from its rolls for "unethical" medical practices, is at present trying to have his license revoked. Only the fact that this group owns its own hospital has made it possible for it to continue operations.

Even the radio was pressed into service in the Oklahoma campaign. A short time ago *True Story Magazine* planned to broadcast a dramatic account of the Elk City Hospital over a National Broadcasting Company hook-up. Eight minutes at the end of the program were to have been devoted to a discussion of cooperative medicine by two well-known doctors—one opposed to the practice and one sympathetic. But at the last minute N. B. C. threw out the broadcast on the ground that "controversial issues are prohibited on a commercial hour." The magazine people were reasonably taken aback since they had been presenting similar programs on controversial issues for several weeks without meeting with any interference.

Testimony concerning the coercive practices of the A. M. A. came from doctors connected with the Milwaukee Medical Center, the San Diego Beneficial Society, and Trinity Hospital in Little Rock, as well as from the Washington and Elk City groups. Dr. Hugh Cabot, senior consulting surgeon of the Mayo Clinic and an authority on medical economics, came to Washington to speak for the "rebel" doctors within the A. M. A. One of the most outspoken members of this dissident group, Dr. Cabot openly favors group-health experiments.

While organized medicine is concentrating its legal forces on the court battle, this is not its last stand by any means. An adverse decision would be a severe blow, but the medical hierarchy has no intention of taking a back seat, whatever happens. The ruling clique of the American Medical Association, headed by Morris Fishbein, has been a law to itself for almost twenty years. Technically, the A. M. A. is a democratically organized group, but actually Fishbein and his supporters control the policies of the national association and the local medical societies. It is the threat to their power—and incidentally their jobs—which principally disturbs them. If pressure is strong enough they will reluctantly accept group health insurance as an unpleasant necessity; but never will they voluntarily relinquish their control of the medical bureaucracy. Already they are laying plans for a new course of action in case of a court defeat—plans which account for the group-health schemes now springing up under the sponsorship of the medical societies. If group health is inevitable, Fishbein and Company are determined to be in on the ground floor.

The Gallup polls, too, have been a factor in the A. M. A.'s about-face. Last year Gallup reported that 85 per cent of the women in this country favor some form of health insurance; that 80 per cent of the doctors believe the growth of health insurance inevitable; and that 70 per cent of the doctors are in favor of health insurance. This year Gallup reports that approximately 25 million persons would be interested in paying as much as $3 a month for complete medical and hospital protection, and that 7 million more people would like to participate if the cost could be cut to $2 a month. Anyone with an eye to business can see that here is an immense potential market for medical service, waiting only to be developed.

Having so recently embraced the idea of group health insurance, the A. M. A. has not had time to put any plans into operation, but several state medical societies have made definite proposals. On the surface, these plans seem to be exact replicas of the group health associations so violently attacked by these same societies, but careful analysis reveals many important differences.

Undoubtedly frightened by the inroads which the Group Health Association is making into private practice, the Medical Society of the District of Columbia now offers a Mutual Health Service. When and if the service is adopted, it will provide complete medical care to subscribers for about $18 a year. Medical, consultant, X-ray and laboratory services, office and home calls, and medical care in the hospitals will be included, but hospitalization itself will be extra. That's splendid, as far as it goes, but there are important omissions. No mention is made of provisions for preventive medicine, or for group practice and consultation on the part of the doctors—two of the most important phases of group health insurance. Another provision—under which any single person earning more than $2,500 will be excluded—will be defi-

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nitely detrimental. People resent distinctions on the ground of income. Nevertheless it must be admitted, even though complete details of the project are not available, that the proposed service is a great concession on the part of the diehards.

Even more surprising is the Wisconsin Medical Society's proposal to collaborate with three different cooperative medical groups in the state for experimental purposes. The Medical Society has already made arrangements to work with the Cooperative Health Association in Superior, Wisconsin. Only 300 people will be accepted in this group during the experimental phase. Any doctor who is a member of the medical society in good standing can join the panel from which the patients choose their physicians. The doctors will work on a minimum-fee schedule and the members will pay so much a year for medical services, both general and surgical. It is generally believed that this venture is foredoomed to failure because the group is too small, the doctors do not function as a group, and there is no provision for preventive medicine or hospitalization. Remembering that this same medical society is still obstructing the Milwaukee Medical Center—one of the best-known of the group health associations—one is inclined to view its proposal a little skeptically. Possibly this offer of cooperation is simply part of the Medical Society's new strategy, enabling them to say, "See, we've tried health insurance, but it doesn't work."

Cash-indemnity medical insurance is the only health insurance of which the tory doctors really approve, and it is this type that has been proposed by the Medical Society of the State of New York. For a monthly fee of from $1 to $3 the subscriber would be entitled to the payment of doctors' bills of from $150 to $500 a year. "As a method of insurance," says the New York *Times*, it provides no hospital care at all; offers no diagnostic service beyond that which can be rendered in a physician's office; [and] permits the physician to charge all that he can against the insurance fund. . . ." Conservative doctors naturally like this scheme because it helps people to pay their doctors' bills without upsetting the medical bureaucracy or changing the fee-for-service principle.

Organized medicine now has no greater love for group payment or contract practice than it had a year ago. If the A. M. A. gets a favorable decision in court, there will be considerable backtracking on the question of group health insurance. Dr. Fishbein has been careful not to commit himself too far. "The A. M. A. House of Delegates," he points out, "continues to oppose sickness insurance. . . . The best system would seem to be one which includes voluntary insurance against the cost of hospitalization, and voluntary cash-indemnity insurance to cover the cost of medical or professional services." Cash-indemnity insurance may be allowed to stand, but any more liberal overtures made by the local medical societies will be quickly forgotten. Obviously the group health associations will suffer a severe setback if the courts support the A. M. A. Most of them are too young and too weak to buck organized medicine.

Must Democracy Use Force?

III. MUNICH RATHER THAN WAR

BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

TWO articles, by Mr. Niebuhr and Mr. Kolnai, in the pages of *The Nation** have stated with great emphasis the case against Munich, and I am glad of the opportunity to state the case in favor of that much-abused pact. But before embarking upon controversy I should like to mention certain points on which I agree with my opponents.

I agree, in the first place, that the preservation of democracy in the world is of immense importance. I am not prepared to deny that if democracy can be defended by war, and cannot be defended in any other way, then war may become necessary. I accept Mr. Niebuhr's analysis of the case for democracy as resting, not upon the essential goodness of man, but upon the fact that "power must be held under democratic restraints because irresponsible power is always dangerous." I agree also that no government, however democratic, can dispense with the threat of force against recalcitrant minorities. But these abstract truisms seem to me to have very little bearing upon the actual situation.

Both articles, while they inveigh against the "prejudices of academics," appear to me incurably academic and remote from concrete reality. During the Great War the immense majority of professors, both in Germany and among the Allies, showed a bloodthirstiness which at the time astonished me. This is still true of those who expect to be remote from the actual theaters of war. They still think of human beings, not as concrete developing individuals, but as unalterable embodiments of ideological forces. A German is just a soldier fighting for fascism. An Englishman or French-

* In the issues of January 21 and 28.

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man should be just a soldier fighting for democracy. An American should be a recruiting sergeant and a merchant of death. All this forgets the dynamic character of human passions, as well as the fact that politics is not the whole of life.

"War," says Mr. Kolnai, "has settled many problems in history." I do not deny it, nor do I deny that a war between fascism and democracy will settle a problem. Unless it is shorter and more easily won than we have any right to expect, I fear that it will settle the problem in favor of fascism, whichever side is victorious.

The view that a great war is likely to lead to fascism, even if the present fascist powers are defeated, is one which is met by Mr. Kolnai with anger rather than argument. "It is the hallmark of civilized man," he says, "not that he is unable to use barbarous weapons, but that he is able to use them in a restrained, governable, exterior, and transitory fashion." If this is a definition of "civilized man," I have no quarrel with it; but if it is intended to imply—as it obviously is—that there are at present nations composed of "civilized men" in this sense, then I do most emphatically deny it. After the Germans had been defeated in the last war, they were still treated barbarously, until their own "barbarous weapons" began to inspire fear. "None of the fascist dictatorships," says Mr. Kolnai, "especially the chief ones, have been born of war." This is totally untrue of Hitler, who is a logical consequence of Versailles and its aftermath. He is the result of our victory in a war to defend democracy and destroy militarism. If we win another such war, Hitler will be succeeded by someone as much worse than he as he is worse than the Kaiser. To suppose that we shall have learned anything from our previous mistakes is totally unrealistic.

The argument from history is very apt to be fallacious as applied to modern conditions. War is a more serious matter than it used to be. War can still settle problems, but it can only settle them the wrong way. Consider the war in China: it is still possible that the Japanese may ultimately be defeated, but only if the Chinese lose all their best qualities, and become almost as ferocious as their enemies.

"It does make an enormous difference," says Mr. Kolnai, "who wins and who loses a war." This is an optimistic delusion, a relic of eighteenth-century rationalism, no longer held as a creed concerning mankind at large, but only applied to the "virtuous" nations. Nations are "virtuous" in proportion to the paucity of their war experience. The most "virtuous" nations are Norway and Sweden, which have had no war since 1814. Whatever virtues the English may possess are due to the fact that they have not been invaded since 1066. The next war will fundamentally alter their character; if they are victorious, they will be found to have become hysterical and cruel. As for America, those who remember the reign of terror against radicals during and after the last war for democracy will not be unduly optimistic.

I am surprised to find, in both the writers who attack Munich, a proneness to rhetorical expressions which tend to obscure the facts. "Czechoslovakia lay prostrate under the heel of the conqueror," says Mr. Niebuhr. Anyone would suppose from this phrase that if England and France had gone to war instead of coming to a settlement at Munich, the fate of Czechoslovakia would have been less unpleasant than it has been in fact. But it is obvious that England and France could not, in the event of war, have prevented the Germans from overrunning Czechoslovakia. The difference would have been that the Germans would have occupied the whole country instead of only parts where there is a large German population, and that in the course of conquest they would have destroyed Prague and killed vast numbers of the opposing forces. Perhaps, at the end of a long war, the surviving Czechs would have been able to return to their devastated areas, but in the meantime they would have suffered a hundred times as much as they are suffering.

Those who censure England and France for weakness toward Germany are apt to forget that most of what Germany has done *externally* has been a forcible remedying of injustices perpetrated at Versailles. The reoccupation of the Rhineland ought to have taken place by agreement long before it actually occurred. The *Anschluss* was forbidden by England and France while Germany was democratic; when it took place, there can be no reasonable doubt that the majority of Austrians welcomed it, whatever they may be feeling now. The Sudeten areas in Czechoslovakia were originally taken from Austria and Germany simply as a punishment, and many of those who now protest against their incorporation in Germany recognized, in 1919, the injustice of subjecting them to a government that they disliked. In all these three cases the mistake was in not voluntarily conceding justice to pre-Nazi Germany. The mistake was not in making concessions, but in making them too late and under threat of force. Even so, however, it was better to make them than to plunge Europe into war for the purpose of perpetuating injustices.

When Munich is attacked in America, it is attacked as a rule on the ground that it was England's duty to the world to crusade for democracy. It may, of course, be said that British interests were sacrificed, but as to that the British must be allowed to judge for themselves; and in any case, if that were the objection, it would not justify moral indignation. Moral indignation, of which America is full, can only be justified on the ground that the interests of mankind demand war against the Nazis. But if that is the argument, it applies exactly as much to the United States. Yet I never hear it said, in America,

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that the United States has "abdicated." I do not myself feel any inclination to blame America for its neutrality. But I think the arguments that justify American neutrality are the same as those that justify the British attitude at Munich. They are less strong, because the United States would suffer less in a war than England would, but they are to my mind equally cogent. They are, however, not available for those who think that England ought to have fought. It is difficult to feel much respect for those who say: "This is a holy cause, therefore you ought to fight, but we ought only to look on and make money out of your necessities."

It is difficult to understand the difference between the attitude of Americans to Czechoslovakia and their attitude to China. China has more than ten times the population of Czechoslovakia; it is suffering far more horribly, and on a vastly larger scale, than all the victims of the Nazis put together; and Japan has no vestige or shadow of justification for its invasion. Everyone knows that Japan is allied with Germany, that what strengthens Japan strengthens Germany, and what weakens Japan weakens Germany. Most people who have gone into the question are of opinion that Japan could be quickly crippled by economic measures alone. In spite of this, not only is Japan allowed to proceed unhampered, but Americans—individually, not governmentally—do far more than any other nation to help the Japanese to victory, by supplying them with oil and motor transport and by buying their silk. When I hear this conduct defended by those who are full of moral horror about Munich, I confess that I am completely bewildered.

Moral indignation, unless severely controlled, is seldom a source of wise conduct. Take the position of the Jews in Germany at the present time. I will not for a moment admit that those who feel that this is a reason for war have any greater sympathy for the Jews, or any greater horror of the cruelties to which they are subjected, than I have. But I cannot help realizing that in war time Jews would be accused of treachery and of the inconceivable wickedness of desiring the defeat of their persecutors. Under the influence of war hysteria they would be subjected to much more severe persecution even than that now being inflicted on them. If our object is to help German Jews, not merely to enjoy the satisfactions of revenge, it is perfectly evident that war is the worst method we can possibly adopt. From the point of view of humanity, the only hope, as things stand, is to get the Jews out of Germany, even if it should involve paying blackmail to their jailers. If our vindictive feelings must have some consolation, we can reflect that the loss of the Jews will very greatly weaken the German nation, and will make it, if war does come, much easier to defeat than it was when the Jews were an integral part of the community.

It is a mistake—more common nowadays on the left than on the right—to think of military power as alone important. At the time of the Munich crisis the German nation, no less than the French and the English, showed unmistakably its aversion from war. Most eyewitnesses are agreed that the intensified persecution of the Jews has been unpopular with the bulk of the population. Economic difficulties and curtailment of food supplies must inevitably cause discontent. The desire for a quiet life and a diminution of strenuousness must sooner or later become overwhelming, particularly if the external dangers have quite obviously diminished. There is no sound reason to suppose the Nazi regime eternal, or to believe that it can only be destroyed by external war. I am not positively prophesying that the Nazis will fall as a result of an internal revolution, led perhaps by the army; I am saying only that this is by no means an impossibility, and that the great war, if postponed sufficiently, may never take place. This is a powerful reason for accepting even painful compromises in the meantime.

Assuming that the Nazis remain in power, there is still every reason to expect that their international position will grow weaker. The situation now is very analogous to that of Napoleon in 1809. Success will make Hitler rash, and not sufficiently conciliatory to his allies. He has lately lost Poland; he is almost certain before long to lose Italy. The inevitable psychology of the situation must lead him, as it led Napoleon, into some enterprise in which success is impossible. Perhaps when that time comes, his own country will desert him; perhaps he will provoke a war in which his defeat will not be very difficult. All such speculations are doubtful, but the evils of a great war are not doubtful.

The rise of Hitler, for a time, shook my pacifism, as it shook that of many others. I read many books by military, naval, and aeronautical experts as to the probable character of the next war. The one thing that seems quite beyond question is that the next great war, if the forces are at all evenly balanced, will destroy civilized life throughout Europe, leaving no possibility of any government except a military tyranny, because the universal destitution will promote brigandage and every kind of anarchic disorder. Populations maddened by hatred, terror, and hunger will demand vengeance upon somebody, and will seize upon the nearest victims, who are likely to be those retaining most of the vanishing civilization. It is the horror of this prospect that is the basis of European pacifism. America, no doubt, will emerge intact, and therefore to an American the pacifist argument is less compelling. But Europeans, naturally, think first of their own continent, and for Europe nothing but disaster can result from war.

[*This is the last of three articles discussing the role of force in the preservation of our democracy. A rebuttal by Mr. Niebuhr will be found in our letter columns on page 187.*]

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The Nazis Turn Toward Mecca

[News reports of the National Socialist Party Congress at Nürnberg last September made brief mention of the presence of a sizable group of Arab sheiks. The following letter, written by the nephew of one of those sheiks to Al-förd ibn Roos, who translated and passed it along to us, sheds light on their mission to Germany and on the activities of the Nazis in the Near East. We have had the original document, written in Arabic, carefully examined by a competent scholar and feel assured of its authenticity. While we cannot vouch for the information it presents, the letter seems important if only for what it reveals of the attitude and expectations of the Arabs themselves. The only changes made in the original text are the suppression of certain place names that might help to reveal the identity of the writer and the deletion of a few purely personal passages.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Writ at the Wells of Zezaarft, Hejaz, this 23d Day of the Month of Jumada II in the Year of the Hejira, 1357, by Ibrahim ibn Jast, Pious in El-Islam, to His Brother in the One True Faith, Hajji Al-förd ibn Roos, Devout in the Faith, at the City of Vanadium, Sanjak of New Mexico.*

NOW I must tell thee of many things that have come to pass since last I wrote thee, for affairs of Islam speed on ever and ever faster. My uncle, the Sheik . . . who was honored together with more than a hundred others of all the *dar al Islam,* hath returned from a visit to the ruler of the Germans. And they did sit in council with the viziers of the ruler, and when my uncle related the great things that were arranged there I was permitted to sit in the ring of the elders of Bir el Melosah. And we all rejoice to know that the High Vizier of the Germans, one Yussuf Goebbels, gave assurance that the ruler Hitler and all the viziers and the *sipah-silar* [army commanders] have accepted the tenets of the Prophet, upon whom be blessings, and are actually true believers, though for purposes of state and temporarily this has not been promulgated in their country but must be disseminated throughout Islam. All Islam rejoices to know that Allah hath inclined the hearts of the Germans to accept Allah's Prophet and become believers, just as he inclined the heart of the ruler of the Sons of the Wolf in the land of the Italians; so that now we have two former infidel rulers who are vowed and committed to champion our cause of justice.

There in the land of the Germans my uncle beheld a vast sea of warriors before the rostrum and at other places, and he was made to know that this was but as a grain of sand to the number of warriors that lay close to their arms, and the whole land is filled with fortresses that may not be taken, and of cannon that cannot be numbered, and all pledged to protect Islam when presently the full *jehad* [holy war] will be declared and Islam once more unsheaths the sword to sweep the world. And it was made known to the sheiks that the Commander and Caliph of the Germans has but to raise his voice, and the English and French tremble and become craven with fear; so that the viziers of the infidels crawl like worms to the champion of Islam.

A promise was made that if instructions were followed by us in the present partial *jehad,* when the day came to take the sword in full strength, which would be soon, the Germans, together with the Italians, would fill the air with such great fleets of flying war *dhows* that the firmament would be darkened with their numbers. Therefore we shall not be molested from the heavens while we put the necks of the English, and later the French, to the edge of the sword. And it is promised that even more of those guns will be sent us, those that shoot an endless row of bullets in belts, and more instructors will soon be sent us to add to those already training our young men, and more gold to our head men for distribution, and more cannon. But we must be careful to send men in very gradually increasing numbers to the battles in Palestine, and thus not alarm the French in Syria before the time comes. The young men of Jebel ed Druse can scarcely be restrained against the French, for they remember well the French massacre of not many years ago, and all our own young men are avid for war against the infidel English, who would give El Kuds, the Holy, to the Jews and let the Dome of the Rock be desecrated by unbelievers.

My uncle was told that all the world would be at war soon, and that the greater plan included the return of India to Islam, for which schemes are far advanced. There are only 250 English soldiers at the Island of Perim that guards the narrow sea at the Bab el Mandeb; and near Mocha, which likewise is separated from Africa by a narrow channel, forts have been made of poured rock. Great cannon are ready at Assab in Eritrea, on the other side, and these will be taken across when the time comes. Then these and the great cannon of the Caliph of the Italians at Assab will close the narrow sea to the warships of the English, and the British Empire will be severed while India grasps the weapons of war for freedom.

The emissaries of the Italians have caused the hinterland behind Aden to seethe, so that the sheiks can scarcely restrain the young men. Now my uncle has gone

* September 16, 1938.

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to Bir el Melosah, where he will meet with other sheiks, for there is a truce in Islam. All of the Italians will be there also, with gold and more of the magic boxes [radios] wherein dwell Djinn and Afrit. In another moon all the tribes will send chief men to the greater meeting at Cairo, where an agreement will be reached between Iraq, Syria, Hejaz, Yemen, and India.

My uncle says that a fresh levy of twelve men will go from these tents soon to cross the Jordan and come under the banner of Abdul Rahim, and these will report to the commander Abdul Kader Husseini at Jerusalem or Bethlehem. There is much dissension as to who will go, for all are eager, and I shall ask that lots be cast, for thus I may go, though my uncle wishes me to go to Sana, in Yemen, where the Germans have a school for us in the use of guns and instructors to show the way to wreck bridges and railroads. We are to send many transport camels in the month of Shawwai, as are all of the other tents, to Sekaka and El Djouf, on the western edge of the Nefed Desert. There they will be close, and the host of Islam can march down the Wadi Sirham when the forage is better, and strike quickly across the Jordan, while other hosts strike at Aden.

When last I wrote thee, the imams and the mullahs were preaching against taking the infidels to be allies, but since our chief men have returned from the land of the Germans and report that the people there and the viziers and commanders have accepted Mohammed, the Prophet of Allah, the imams and mullahs now preach in the holy mosques that these be accepted as allies. The exalted Mufti of El Kuds, Hajji Amin al-Husseini, has promulgated the consent and has ordered that the sword Dhu'l-fiquar, which the Prophet bequeathed to Ali, be lifted alongside those who were once infidels. And I would that thou would return and be with us when once again is heard the cry of "Ya mansur amit!" [the traditional war cry of the Moslems, meaning "Ye conquerers, strike!"], and all Islam marches as one man.

IBRAHIM IBN JAST

In the Wind

SOCIETY NOTES: "George Abel, Washington writer, last night played host to nearly forty persons whose announced theme was to celebrate the fall of Barcelona. Guests entering his home were directed to a picture of Stalin, Russian dictator, converted to use as a doormat." (Washington *Post.*) . . . "Members of the Fortnightly Club are to meet with Mrs. Dwight H. Allen February 1. Discussion—Resolved that the Spanish war is the natural outcome of the national game, bull fighting—Mrs. Seymour and Mrs. Clement." (Honeoye Falls *Times.*)

THE RENEWED battle between Homer Martin and C. I. O. officials has its humorous side. At the Pittsburgh convention the U. A. W. executive board presented watches to Sidney Hillman and Phil Murray in recognition of their services in bringing "peace" to U. A. W. factions. The decision to make the award was reached at the last moment, and U. A. W. officials, lacking cash in hand, asked Hillman to lend them the money to buy the watches. Now the "peace" is at an end —and Hillman, according to labor reporters, is wondering which faction will pay for the watches.

MOST HOLLYWOOD trade papers have heretofore been wary of "offending" dictator nations. When Mussolini cracked down on American film imports, however, these journals suddenly became imaginative as well as indignant. The Hollywood *Reporter* announced: "Dictator Dynasty Tottering as Hollywood Walks Out on Monopoly." The story reported "riots" in Italy because of the disappearance of American films, described the curb as Mussolini's "most dangerous political experiment," and explained that "Hollywood films were Mussolini's best bet in keeping the people happy and contented, but now with the large amount of enforced leisure they are clamoring for an open revolt against Il Duce's leadership."

AFTER THE Gannett-Ickes "free press" debate, certain members of the Newspaper Guild studied the treatment of the story by the fifteen newspapers in which Gannett has exclusive or majority control. They found that these papers gave an aggregate of 487 inches of space to Gannett's side, 158 to Ickes. Two of them, while playing up Gannett's address, did not even mention that Ickes had spoken; another rearranged the Associated Press story to emphasize Gannett's "explanations"; still another published Gannett's text and expressed "regret" that Ickes's text was "not available"—although it was.

A POPULAR dictionary compiled by Professor Vittorio Manfredi and widely circulated in Italy has been banned by Fascist officials. An "anti-Semite" was defined in its pages as "a poorly civilized person who is hostile toward and fights the Jews."

THE NEW YORK *Herald Tribune* is in effect placing a premium on censorship in its covering of Spanish news. First Ralph Barnes of the *Herald Tribune's* Berlin office sought a visa to rebel Spain; it was denied. Then John Elliott of the Paris office applied for a visa and met similar treatment. Now the *Herald Tribune* publishes a daily release from the Peninsular News Service, official Franco agency in the United States.

EXPLANATION OF THE WEEK: Dr. Alexander Hamilton Rice, ardent Franco propagandist, recently told a Fall River, Massachusetts, audience that "Franco did not take Madrid because he knows retreats of vanquished forces inevitably are attended by massacres, and he did not wish these."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

HOWEVER one may feel about the President and his stand in regard to the sale of airplanes to France and England, no one can deny that he is in a dangerously emotional state of mind. Assuming for the sake of argument that his was the proper policy, one may certainly question why he had to take the sensational course that he did and send for the Senate Military Affairs Committee to explain his reasons for encouraging France and England to buy our airplanes. As Mrs. Roosevelt has pointed out in her column, there is no law against France and England's buying airplanes. If it was necessary to give those countries a tip that they were welcome to buy all that they wanted, that could have been done through our respective ambassadors in Paris and London. The President is certainly too experienced to have believed that he could communicate his alarmist views—and they are alarmist—to the members of so large a committee and have them remain secret.

Now what has happened? He has alarmed a large section of the population. He has given Herbert Hoover and the Republicans the opportunity to attack him. He has given rise to the charge that he is carrying out a most dangerous policy of secret commitments. He has gravely disturbed men like myself who have hitherto supported him in his vigorous attitude toward the aggressors; we are afraid that by such a sudden and theatrical move he will really jeopardize our peace and endanger the achievement of his ends, precisely as his weakness as an administrator and coordinator is jeopardizing the New Deal itself. The country is admittedly in a very serious situation, and unless our Ship of State is steered carefully and dextrously, tremendous harm will result. In other words, a vast deal depends upon the manner in which things are done, almost more than on what is done.

In this case the net result is to make it possible for the dictators to declare that America is divided and that powerful men and a large section of one of the two great parties are arraying themselves against the President. That concerns me less than the President's seeking to call off criticism. The President has declared that hardly one of the newspaper stories of what took place was accurate—or correctly headlined—which is a very marked reflection upon the corps of Washington correspondents and their papers. But they all agree that he asked the Senators to refrain from criticizing him and his policy about little things. That was a very great mistake. Open diplomacy openly arrived at is what this country needs and desires, and there never has been heretofore and never will be any time short of war when a President and his policies cannot and should not be criticized. I have not taken any stock in the Republican contention that Roosevelt was trying to make himself a dictator, but he certainly lent color to that allegation when he asked that all criticism cease. The safety of any republic depends upon freedom of criticism—I think in war time as well as in peace time. Naturally this makes many of us feel a great loss of confidence in the President's judgment.

Let me illustrate what I mean further by recalling what has happened in the field of national defense. Only a year ago Mr. Roosevelt was demanding a huge fleet in both the Atlantic and the Pacific Ocean. Each was to be big enough to defend us against any enemy or reasonable combination of enemies attacking us in that ocean. That was too much for navy men, and they talked him out of it. Indeed, we have been witnessing the extraordinary spectacle of the army and navy actually holding down a too bombastic Executive. Next, we had trial balloons from Hyde Park last fall—it is only fair to add that he disavowed the authorship and said that the naughty correspondents were again at fault—which suggested a great defense program to take hundreds of thousands off the WPA and to put them on the pay rolls of heavy industry. When the public reception of this was completely unfavorable, then we were told that there was to be an enormous aviation program, no fewer than 10,000 airplanes.

Again the brake was applied, and the program stands whittled down to perhaps 8,000. Now we know that the President wants 500 airplanes for immediate delivery, not merely for our own use, but to give, lease, or sell to the Allies if they should be suddenly attacked. Similarly we are having the most extraordinary vacillation as to the fortification of Guam. The admirals say one thing; the President says another. One day it was represented that all that is to be done at Guam is the opening of a harbor for the landing of some gasoline from a collier or two. The next day naval authorities declared that the harbor we are constructing will be large enough to shelter the entire fleet! It all gives a most disheartening impression of vacillation, lack of coordination in planning, and total lack of agreement as to what our policy shall be. Certainly the net result of the President's performances during the last few days has been, in my judgment, to weaken us in the eyes of the dictators.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

But Never Dull

LORD MACAULAY: VICTORIAN LIBERAL. By Richmond Croom Beatty. University of Oklahoma Press. $3.

A REVALUATION of Macaulay is hardly called for; his faults have been cried up for three-quarters of a century, and no one who has ever read him will need to be reminded of his virtues. But a restatement like the present one is thoroughly in order, for Macaulay's position in English letters is probably less central today than it has been at any time since he swung the big ax in the *Edinburgh Review.* For this there is good reason. There was too much in his writing which perjured and disfigured what he wrote about, and in his thinking which deadened his capacity for thought. He knew the answer to everything, and such an arrogant state of mind is even worse than the fact that so many of his answers were wrong. To the outlook of a liberal he brought all the smug absolutism of a reactionary. He employed his vast knowledge not so much to clarify and explain as to denigrate and confound. He devoted a lifetime to history, and was led to the conclusion that the Golden Age was ushered into England by the Reform Bill of 1832.

It is not easy to discover just how, in our own age, such a man can still prove of use, as Ruskin and Arnold and even Carlyle still prove of use. For these others were, at the least, haunted and agitated by human ideas, whereas Macaulay was at best absorbed by cold impersonal principles. For him the political wisdom of the ages had been turned into so many planks in the Whig platform. There was the English Constitution and, in especial, 1688—matters which impressed Macaulay almost as much as they impressed Burke. If Macaulay was far more truly a liberal than Burke, he had, on a larger scale, Burke's ineradicable feelings about boundaries and confines. He was born into an age characterized by the real triumph of the middle class, and in the end he went straight to the point of that triumph: the soundness, the sacredness, of the rights of property. Who should be allowed to vote? The man of some substance. Jews, Catholics? Certainly, if they are men of some substance. It is patently absurd, Macaulay argued, to grant unlimited power to a small band of aristocrats. Just as patently it is unthinkable to grant any power at all to the substanceless working classes.

This is not being entirely fair to Macaulay, who did, after all, strive to get rid of the abuses and anachronisms of eighteenth-century political practice; who was in his complacent way a sincere reformer; who opposed the vicious excesses of laissez faire (Macaulay cogently defended a bill making it illegal for women and children to work more than ten hours a day); who rejoiced in "progress" and wanted all classes to share in it. But his conception of progress was even more untrustworthy than his conception of liberalism. There, in that naive exultation over the peerless state of Britain in the '30's and '40's, really emerged all that was coarsest and most philistine in Macaulay's nature. Where, in all the history of the world, had there ever been such fine smooth roads, such up-to-date machinery, such swift steamboats, such incomparable railways? What wonders of postal service! What marvels of suburban libraries! What miracles of public baths! What a copy-writer Macaulay would make for Saniflush or Cellophane.

The insensibility of such a man naturally carried over into his writing. He was started off in the worst possible school, in that ruthless *Edinburgh* which was no ornament of art but a servant of Whiggery and which, when upstarts were to be thrashed, when enemies were to be flogged, when wrong principles were to be trounced, cared not a whit whether it was reviewing a masterpiece or an abortion. From the *Edinburgh's* policy Macaulay may have been seduced into hitting harder, and oftener below the belt, than he might otherwise have done. But who was it—was it not Jeffrey himself?—who, at the very beginning of Macaulay's career, wondered "where in the world he had picked up that style"? The style and all it implied were born with him. Holland House emboldened but did not form it. Butting, metallic, aggressive, it was the index to a cold, sexless, and self-righteous nature. One studied the facts of any matter, and came, inevitably, to conclusions. Once formed, the conclusions were absolute, beyond any hope or right of appeal. So, in the course of time, Macaulay was brought to believe that many men were knaves, most men fools, most scholars dunces, and almost all Tories criminals. Addison, William of Orange, Charles Fox (in spite of his dissipations), and a few other characters of history were admirable. The rest of mankind you might, by and large, cart away.

The literary judgments are the work of a man who really understood almost nothing written after the birth of Christ. The historical judgments are reached without any real knowledge—or any real need—of human psychology. Most of his contemporaries—Dickens, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Mrs. Browning, Landor, Carlyle—Macaulay could not stomach, and, to his credit, the social world which might have been expected to dazzle him left him bored and disgruntled. One must at the outset accept how wrong and arbitrary, how jaundiced and prejudiced, Macaulay could be; one must overlook the repulsive coldness in the man, the clanging brilliance of the style. After that, one can sit down in the presence of a master; for, in spite of everything, a master Macaulay is. If his use of his material is unscrupulous, it is none the less triumphant. No one has ever made sentences march with such a tread, or given to history, taken in all its congestion and detail, so unceasing a sense of movement. The battle passages are immense. The short accounts of great lives—Chatham and Mr. Pitt, Frederick and Clive—are as vivid as they are truncated. The mass of misinformation is notorious; but the mass of information is astounding. And the point of view, the Whig point of view, the middle-class point of view, had for its own time a living value; has for ours a genuine historical importance.

Mr. Beatty has rehearsed his subject with skill and care, and been at the greatest pains to preserve balance. He has

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lacked the background to make Macaulay, as he intended, a pivot for an inquiry into early nineteenth-century liberalism. But this is surely the best modern life of its subject. It does not, of course, supplant Trevelyan, who on his own terms produced a masterpiece. But it comes as a corrective after him, and it is possible to hope that it comes as a stimulus besides. For despite the many indictments that have been brought against Macaulay, no one has ever accused him of being dull.

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

High-Price Intoxication

CAPITALISM IN CRISIS. By James Harvey Rogers. Yale University Press. $2.50.

INDUSTRIAL PRICE POLICIES AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS. By Edwin G. Nourse and Horace B. Drury. Brookings Institution. $2.50.

THE growth of the servile state in Europe has given a new scarcity value to our modicum of liberties and an improved tactical position to the defenders of the economic status quo. Even the extreme left now cries "Preserve democracy" rather than "Down with capitalism," while the middling masses observe the moral of one of Belloc's "Cautionary Tales":

> And always keep a-hold of nurse
> For fear of meeting something worse.

True, Nurse Capitalism is pretty much of a Sairey Gamp, frequently neglectful of her charges, slatternly in her habits, and addicted to speculative orgies. Yet with all her faults she seems a ministering angel by comparison with the totalitarian drill-sergeant whom we assume, perhaps too hastily, to be our only alternative guardian. We are therefore in the mood to give a ready ear to those economists who are, in the words of Professor Rogers, "seeking earnestly to discover whether the wheels of industry cannot be kept turning at approximately full capacity most of the time without the necessity of the people's surrendering a greatly increased proportion of economic power to their governments."

"Capitalism in Crisis," which attempts to answer this question, can be recommended as useful preliminary reading for those wishing to follow the deliberations of the National Economic Committee. Designed for the layman, it eschews detailed analysis and complicated formulas, is unconventional enough to cast a discussion of inflation into the form of a one-act comedy. But this lightness of touch only serves to emphasize the rather grim character of the book as a whole.

Examining the suicidal tendencies of present-day capitalism, Professor Rogers gives foremost place to price rigidity. When demand lags, he points out, it is to the apparent interest of individual businesses to curtail output and hold prices. Yet when all business follows this course it obviously means loss of jobs, shrinkage of purchasing power, and further curtailment of production. The problem is how to induce industry to look two steps ahead and see that the safest and most profitable course would be to cut prices and hold production.

It has often been noted that American capitalism has made a great success of production while making a lamentable mess of distribution. Even more than Professor Rogers, Messrs. Nourse and Drury regard the price mechanism as responsible for this state of affairs. The starting-point for their study is the conclusion reached by Harold G. Moulton in "Income and Economic Progress"—that the most promising reform in the distribution of wealth would be "the gradual but persistent revamping of price policy so as to pass on the benefits of technological progress and rising productivity to all the population in their role of consumers."

Through a close analysis of the process of price-making in many industries, they show clearly that the classical aphorism —"The market is the birthplace of prices"—is no longer applicable to a large part of our economic system. The executive of a modern corporation does not passively accept a market price. In the words of the authors, he "sets a price objective and directs a controlled productive mechanism toward attainment of that price level. . . . Much as he generally hates the phrase, he becomes in fact the economic planner of our society rather than merely the adapter of his personal affairs as best he can to a largely automatic price mechanism." This tremendous power is largely the result of mass-production methods, including technological processes, such as die-stamping, which involve a high inverse variability of costs in relation to output. If the industrial system is to yield its maximum benefits, prices must be set low enough to permit the disposal of capacity production. The industrialist who adopts such a policy gets the advantage of minimum unit costs, and while his unit profits may be small, his total profits are likely to be handsome.

Unfortunately, all too many industrialists are concerned with conserving their capital above all else. To do so they tend to fix prices at such a level that they can "break even" at a comparatively low operating rate. Thus they play safe, and if their calculations prove too pessimistic and demand is sufficient to enable production to be increased, they then reap the benefit of rapidly decreasing costs in the shape of geometrically increasing profits. Under such circumstances the self-regarding instinct exhibits its weakness as the mainspring of our economic system. The policy which seems prudent for any individual business must, if pursued by a majority, result in the restricted use of our productive capacity, continued unemployment, and a low standard of living.

The National Association of Manufacturers ought to make this book required reading for all its members. Should they take it sufficiently to heart to learn to follow a long-term vision of self-interest rather than a short-term one, old Nurse Capitalism might smarten up sufficiently to hold her job for a while. But I cannot pretend to optimism. Addiction to the "high price" bottle is not easily overcome.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The Mexican Complex

A HISTORY OF MEXICO. By Henry Bamford Parkes. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.75.

MR. PARKES has done so workmanlike a job in producing that brief history of Mexico which has long been lacking that the first impulse of the reviewer is to break into prolonged applause for his sound and unobtrusive scholarship, remarkable powers of synthesis, and a style so attractive as to make the book a joy to read. Nevertheless,

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this otherwise admirable study is marred by the intrusion of certain theories, particularly in the analysis of the contemporary scene, that require some comment, for in the present state of United States-Mexican relations it is precisely about the Mexico of today that the greatest enlightenment is urgently needed.

Owing, apparently, to his partial confusion of racial and class components in the Mexican complex, Mr. Parkes displays a tendency to see the movement initiated in 1910 as a resurgence of the Indians against their white oppressors and to look for a renaissance of Indian cultural and spiritual values as the basis of Mexico's future. "The reform," he writes, "proved to be Mexico's bourgeois revolution, which brought a new class [the *mestizos,* or mixed bloods] to power." This statement, it seems to me, is somewhat strained on two counts: first, because subsequent rulers of Mexico, while they were in fact drawn from among the *mestizos,* continued to rule the country in creole—that is, Spanish aristocratic—interests; second, because the reform of 1857-71, although it marked another long step in the advance toward liberalism begun by the War of Independence in 1810-21, fell far short of completing the process of fundamentally altering the class relationships of Mexican society.

The 1910 revolution was basically a continuation of both movements and not, as is frequently asserted in Mexico and too readily repeated by Mr. Parkes, something *sui generis.* It is still engaged in the unfinished tasks of the two earlier social revolutions—the liquidation of feudalism (and of imperialism, its modern ally), the redistribution of property, the abolition of peonage, and the construction of a native democracy—social objectives which can scarcely be considered peculiar to Mexico, however much their realization may have been conditioned by circumstances non-existent, or present only in varying degrees, in other countries. The bourgeois radicals who led the 1910 movement gradually abandoned the struggle in favor of an understanding with imperialism, as they became increasingly alarmed by the social and political implications of the mass awakening they had provoked. It is the working class, not the Indian, which has since provided effective leadership in the effort to create a Mexican nation.

Mr. Parkes's failure to assign sufficient importance to the role of the workers in the recent transformation of the country leads him, unless I misread his meaning, to another unwarranted conclusion. "The Cárdenas policy of pushing forward the revolutionary program on all fronts," he says, "involved considerable dangers." This is doubtless true, but it does not really tell us anything. The theory is gaining ground that Mexico should check the labor "offensive" against industry in order to concentrate its efforts on agrarian reform. But it should be obvious that a move to curb labor would not only upset the political equilibrium of the present government but deal a possibly mortal blow to peasant hopes as well. The direct ratio observable between the varying strength of organized labor and the zigzag curve of land distribution since 1915 amply demonstrates the necessity of a militant and progressive labor movement for completion of the land reform. Moreover, a bid for peasant support at the expense of the workers would drive a fatal wedge between city and country and open the gates to what might be termed an "agrarian" fascism, from which no one but political demagogues would derive any benefit. The Mexican revolution must either advance "on all fronts" or run the risk of being defeated on all; specialization involves more and graver dangers than those it seeks to avoid.

It is thus a real pity that Mr. Parkes did not expand his book by another fifty pages to include an adequate discussion of the development of capitalism in Mexico and its part in the transformation of the past twenty years, which he notes but does not fully account for. The result of this additional analysis might have been to lay more stress on the material progress of the revolution and less on the dubious spiritual accomplishment of having revealed to Mexico its "Indian soul." With another generation of rapid industrial development, better communications, increased mechanization of agriculture, and wider educational facilities, I suspect we shall begin to hear less about the special cultural attributes and heritage of the Indian. Aside from these shortcomings, however, which must be considered of minor importance in a book so generally excellent, and from a few slips in names and dates, Mr. Parkes's history of Mexico is the most satisfactory introduction to the country now available, and one that ought to make a considerable dent in the prevailing ignorance if it is as widely read as it deserves to be.

HARRY BLOCK

John Wilkes Booth

THE MAN WHO KILLED LINCOLN. By Philip Van Doren Stern. Random House. $3.

THIS is not just another book on Booth or the assassination of Lincoln. What Philip Van Doren Stern was interested in was to write the full, inside story of the man who committed the greatest crime in the history of the continent. He approaches the subject with no bias. He is not even indirectly related to any of the actors in the tragedy. And he is neither admirer nor apologist of Booth.

He has devoted years of work to collecting every conceivable scrap of evidence on his subject, but he has not written with the idea that his work was to be the definitive treatise on the subject. He writes a simple, unvarnished prose. The story of the preparation for the crime is well told, and with more fairness and truth than it has ever been told before. After Booth's escape from the theater the author has to rely more upon his imagination as to what Booth and the boy Herald and the few other personages who appear from that moment to the end must have said; none of those conversations were heard or taken down. Booth never ceased to be the actor during all his long agony, from the moment when the flag interrupted his spectacular leap from the box to the stage to the end in the Garrett barn. As to who was responsible for the last phase, the shooting—Booth himself or the half-crazed Boston Corbett—Mr. Stern leaves us in doubt.

Mr. Stern does not attempt to build up a far-reaching conspiracy but exposes the very simple one that really existed, a conspiracy confined to Booth and the half-dozen miserable creatures with whom he was associated. The author evidently does not believe that John Y. Beale's execution, after Booth himself intervened with Lincoln for a commutation of the sentence of that brilliant saboteur, had anything to do with

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Booth's decision to consummate his foul deed. He mentions Lincoln's speech at the White House about conferring the suffrage on the Negro as something which still further enraged Booth. He has wisely kept away from conjectures about the Canadian conspiracy and does not try to connect it with Booth. Even wiser is his omission of the Father Chiniquy affair.

Booth and his deed have now become a more than twice-told tale, but for once the tale has been well told, and this book is recommended to all who wish a simple statement of what happened between the tenth and the twenty-fourth day of April, 1865. In other words, the author is content to deal with the facts as they were and not with what might have been. He also indirectly disposes of the myth that Booth appeared in the flesh years after he was shot, for he shows that he was identified after his vain effort to make terms with the impatient officer and that the body was brought to Washington and buried under the eyes of the authorities.

EMANUEL HERTZ

The Maid

A GOOD HOME WITH NICE PEOPLE. By Josephine Lawrence. Little, Brown, and Company. $2.50.

"MY WIFE was one of the best women who ever breathed," confided old Haynes Baker, "but dammit, you couldn't have hired me to work for her. When it came to wages and hours for her cook, you might have thought she was running a jail." Thus a minor character voices the thesis of Josephine Lawrence's new novel: that when a woman hires a servant to "sleep in," she feels she has acquired a majority interest in the girl's time, energy, morals, and private life. If the maid of all work sits down, she is malingering; if she manages to keep her appetite, she is eating her employers out of house and home; if she fails to disconnect the electric iron on one of her dozens of trips to the front door, she is wantonly burning up money; if she objects to changing her day off at a half-hour's notice, she is a selfish ingrate; if she ever stays out after eleven at night, she is carrying on with men. All of which sounds like not merely a severe indictment of housewives as employers but a lot of preachment besides. Yet Mrs. Lawrence's people look, act, and in some cases even smell so real that they transcend their function as illustrations of a theme.

There are two contrasting types of matrons, both equally exasperating to the nerves of their "help": Mrs. Hazen, the damp, corpulent, complaining octopus who oozes pious sentiments but has hysterics if her cook attends the church Mother's Day banquet; and Mrs. National, the modern, efficient young wife who balances her own modest budget by paring the servant's wages. Both types, of course, feel a morbid compulsion to ransack the maid's slender belongings periodically to make sure that she hasn't cached any silver, butter, or stillborn infants in her suitcase. The men of the two households hold somewhat more liberal views of the feudal relationship between hired girl and housewife, but desiring domestic peace above abstract justice, they usually go on holding them. Most women will feel that the book lampoons women as employers; most men will sniff disdainfully at the milksop Mr. Hazen and the ineffectual Mr. National; but there is something about the story that makes one go on reading it just to see whether these deplorable people ever improve, or even get an inkling of the real reason why they can't keep a maid. Answer—they don't.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

A Pony to Parnassus

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE POETRY OF RAINER MARIA RILKE. By M. D. Herter Norton. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.50.

ONE of the noble efforts of Mrs. Norton and by no means the least of them is directed to rendering Rilke accessible to English readers. Its latest representative is the present volume of translations of his verses, mainly from the relatively early "Books of Pictures" but accompanied by extracts from the "New Poems" and by the cyclic "Life of the Virgin Mary." It is with regret that we find that in this instance Mrs. Norton's effort falls somewhat wide of her splendid mark.

Wisely aware that a translator must not alter his poet's symbols, Mrs. Norton has aimed at a literal, almost line-for-line reproduction of Rilke's words and images, and striven to repeat his rhythms. In this respect she has been quite successful. True, her readings are not invariably exact. For example: in the original the lines concluding that very troubling poem about lost souls, The Olive Garden, run, "and they are abandoned by the Fathers,/and excluded from the Mothers' lap"—*und sie sind preisgegeben von den Vätern/und ausgeschlossen aus der Mütter Schoss.*" It is probable that Rilke was employing the word *Mütter* in much the same sense in which Goethe used it in a celebrated scene in "Faust, Part II." Mrs. Norton sweetly but inconsiderately translates "and they are abandoned of their fathers/and shut out of their mothers' hearts." One wonders what in any case could make anyone presume the poet didn't know what he was about when he used "lap" and not "heart"? And she hasn't always gathered the significance of Rilke's word orders. His method, particularly in "New Poems," was the pictorial presentation of the object at its moment of intensest symbolism, when its form declared its essence. Thus in the tautly rhythmical Spanish Dancer he exhibits the ballerina whirling "her whole dress within this conflagration/out of which, like snakes that startle/her naked arms upstretch awake and rattling." But Mrs. Norton blurrs the charming picture by writing "out of which her naked arms upstretch/like startled snakes awake and rattling." Rilke was evoking the vision of dancing arms, not snakes. And why, oh why, one wonders, was the word order of the final line of The Carousel inverted and turned anti-climactic? Especially since meter and rhyme haven't in the least been Mrs. Norton's concern!

Still her sensitivity to Rilke's phraseology all in all is wonderful, particularly in view of the complex syntax to which he almost continually resorted for the sake of representing the fused worlds of sensations and ideas in which he dwelt. The great trouble is that Mrs. Norton has paraphrased it in an English frequently unmusical, raggedly metrical, and without much glamour. And she has almost con-

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sistently sacrificed the rhymes. Thus only with difficulty may she be said to have "translated" the poems, since formal relations—in poetry those of meter, rhyme, tone, color, and sound—are the symbols of what is most important in art. This is the non-conscious meaning. Had she attempted the reproduction of these symbols, her task would doubtless have been immensely difficult. Line-for-line translations of fine poetry representing the originals' values are not readily attainable; especially in cases where the forms are as excessively fluid as those of Rilke are. Yet since Stefan George succeeded in producing line-for-line and almost word-for-word translations of tercets by Dante and sonnets by Shakespeare and Baudelaire which well-nigh perfectly reproduce their values, it is permissible to suppose that with application an amateur of good-will like Mrs. Norton could have achieved translations of Rilke's poetry both literal and of some poetic quality. There is at least no reason for surmising she was obliged to give us lines as Boeotian as those which commence her translation of the famous verses about the panther in the Paris zoo, "His vision from the passing of the bars/is grown so weary that it holds no more"!

Fortunately, the volume juxtaposes on alternate pages the German and the English: thus it by no means is love's labor lost. It has prime value for those who have some German, desire to read Rilke's poems in the original, but are baffled by his vocabulary and intricate style. Mrs. Norton indeed has provided them with a most delightful trot: it must awaken gratitude. For it can carry its riders into the most fascinating region in "the paradise of the Idea" where Rilke thrones.

PAUL ROSENFELD

In Defense of the Labor Board

UNIONS OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING. By Robert R. R. Brooks. Yale University Press. $3.

THE National Labor Relations Act may be dubbed the stormy petrel of New Deal legislation. Around no other recent statute have the storms of contention raged as bitterly as around this attempt to protect workers in the exercise of their basic rights of self-organization and collective bargaining. When, to the chagrin of many eminent lawyers, the United States Supreme Court declared that the act was constitutional, thus in effect reversing the private Supreme Court that the Liberty League lawyers had set up for themselves, the vigor of the attacks continued unabated, but their emphasis shifted somewhat to the administration of the act by the National Labor Relations Board, and the board became the harsh tyrant which was destroying American liberties.

Millions of words have been written about the act and the board, most of them designed to prejudice the minds of the public against both the law and the agency created by it. The board itself, best qualified to answer these attacks and to clear away the misconceptions which have gained currency, has remained comparatively silent, deeming it improper for a quasi-judicial agency to engage in controversy about its own virtues.

The board has not been without its champions, however, and now Mr. Brooks comes valiantly to its defense with his new book "Unions of Their Own Choosing." Arriving just

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when forces are being marshaled for a drive to amend the National Labor Relations Act, it is a timely document. Whether the reasoned analysis contained in the book can dissipate the emotional reactions which so many otherwise intelligent people cherish about the board and its work is a matter concerning which there must be some doubt. But there can be no doubt that Mr. Brooks's attempt is of positive value.

Specific charges have been made that the National Labor Relations Board is pro-labor, that it is pro-C. I. O., that it is un-American because it acts as investigator, prosecutor, and judge at the same time. These charges have been repeated so often that by the very repetition they have taken on some color of truth. "Unions of Their Own Choosing," calmly discussing each of these charges, demonstrating what the facts really are, showing how the misconceptions arise, proves conclusively that the allegations are without merit.

Thus we find that about 55 per cent of the cases which have been closed by the board were adjusted to the satisfaction of both the employer and the union. We learn that approximately 40 per cent of the cases closed were in effect decided in favor of the employer, since they were closed either by the refusal of the board or its agents to issue complaints against the employer, or as a result of the withdrawal by the unions of their charges after the agents of the board had indicated that the cases lacked merit. In only 5 per cent of the cases closed by the board has it been necessary to issue formal decisions. Unfortunately these are the cases which receive the attention of the newspapers, and these are the cases from which the public gets its impression of what the board is doing. Unfortunately, I say, because as Mr. Brooks demonstrates, the other aspects of the board's work are of such great influence in preserving industrial peace.

Mr. Brooks has given a good picture of the conditions which led to the passage of the National Labor Relations Act—the anti-union tactics in which employers indulged and their resentment at any government interference with their right to discharge at will. He discusses the grave administrative and public-relations problems which now face the Labor Board, and the way it meets these problems. The treatment accorded by the courts to board cases, its remarkable record of legal victories, bolsters Mr. Brooks's conclusion that the Labor Relations Act is sound and that its administration has been of a character which would meet judicial approval.

To Mr. Brooks the greatest gain which results from the protection of the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively is the strengthening of democracy. Encouragement of collective bargaining not only improves the immediate status of the workers, but trains them to play a vital role in the attainment of industrial and political democracy.

Despite some minor inaccuracies, and illustrations which seem out of place in a book of this kind, "Unions of Their Own Choosing" has real value. Its discussion of the background of events leading to the enactment of the National Labor Relations Act, its explanation of the essential principles established by the statute, and its description of the method by which the board operates, presented in an interesting and lively fashion, will foster a better understanding of a greatly maligned institution. The reader who starts with any degree of impartiality is likely to conclude with Mr. Brooks that "in the contemporary conflict between democracy and dictatorship, whether political or industrial, the National Labor Relations Board is in the center of the struggle. Its influence and power are wholly on the side of democracy."

BENEDICT WOLF

DRAMA

"Virtue in That Falstaff"

IT IS no uncommon opinion that the Falstaff of "Henry IV" is the greatest comic character in all dramatic literature, and I for one see no reason for dissent. Yet so completely had this great figure been lost to the stage that never once during thirty years of assiduous theater-going had I ever until now had an opportunity to see an actor undertake it, and I must approach Maurice Evans's performance in the revival current at the St. James Theater as innocent of all standards of comparison as though New York were a backwoods town and Shakespeare's plays merely pages in a well-thumbed book. Judged absolutely for and by itself, there can be little difference of opinion: "Henry IV, Part I" as acted by Mr. Evans and his company is a lively play, and Falstaff is a delightful rogue not to be mentioned in the same breath with that libel on his character which Shakespeare himself originated when he wrote the "Merry Wives" and which too many actors have continued to propagate until honest Jack has come to seem no more than a red nose and a padded stomach. But beyond this it is extremely difficult to go, for if one may say without hesitation that the performance provides a delightful experience one can do no more than guess how far the full potentialities of the role and of the play as a whole are realized.

To know the play as literature without knowing it at all in the theater is, moreover, actually to increase the difficulty. One does not hear it innocently and judge it simply on the basis of what is heard. Instead, one finds oneself waiting for this line or that, wondering how it would sound if it were falling for the first time on the ear and asking anxiously how much of its significance is being realized, how good it would seem if it were known only in the context of this performance. Under such conditions probably no performance of any great play would seem all that one could ask for, and I must confess that I kept feeling, "Good as this seems to be, it is not so good as the text really is. Falstaff and Hotspur alike are even more dazzling persons than an audience which knows them only as they appear here can possibly imagine." There is, to be sure, enough of them to make a splendid evening and enough to cover the players with glory. But there is even more in the text of Shakespeare. In "Hamlet" Mr. Evans challenged comparison with the other Hamlets of our time; as the only Falstaff in the experience of most of his auditors he is compelled to challenge comparison, not with any other actor, but with the Falstaff of the universal imagination. And that constitutes a test which could hardly be met.

Furthermore, I am not sure that the play itself is not one in which the purely literary talents of its author were more

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fully developed than his sense of the specific requirements of the stage, and that for all the rush of the eloquence there is not, by the standard of the more mature plays, a failure to bring everything to a focus in single scenes. It is notable that the most famous single incident, that of Falstaff's play-acting with the prince, is the one which comes off best, and that one is aware in watching the play, as one is not aware in the reading of it, how many of the other incidents and speeches which define the character of Sir John are scattered here and there so that they come together in memory to round out a figure whose full magnificence is to be comprehended only when everything that has been said or done is recollected in tranquillity.

Under no circumstances would it be reasonable to expect what almost inevitably one finds oneself expecting, namely, that Falstaff should fully suggest at every moment everything that, from the two whole plays, we know him to be. And Shakespeare, I suspect, has made the demand even more unreasonable in the case of Falstaff than almost anywhere else by giving him few long scenes. Falstaff is the man who has "more flesh than other men and therefore more frailty"; the man who asks "Who hath honor?" and who answers his own question with, "Him who died o'Wednesday"; the man who is "not only witty himself but the cause of wit in other men." Yet these are sayings dropped here and there and only contemplation can put together. He exists as a completed whole far more vividly than he exists at any one moment; he is more of an eternal idea than a personage acting in time. And what is true of him is true of certain of the other chief characters, at least to the extent that what they say is far more important than anything they do. Hotspur is, more than anything else, such a glorious bursting phrase as that about "living on cheese and garlic in a windmill"; so perfect a scene as that of the carters setting out from the inn before dawn is too short to be as effective on the stage as one expects it to be; and the same might be said of the interchange of memories between Falstaff and Justice Shallow which Mr. Evans borrows from Part II. "We have heard the chimes at midnight" is something to be rolled quietly on the tongue, not something the full flavor of which can be caught in the theater.

None of these reflections should, however, be taken to imply any lack of warmth in the praise due to a performance which is a pure joy in its own right and which falls short only as, perhaps, any performance inevitably would. If not all of Henry IV is actable, enough of it is to furnish an extraordinarily rich evening, and Mr. Evans as well as his director have added to the debt of gratitude which we owe them for making Shakespeare good theater again. Only rarely, I think, does their desire to do just that have unfortunate results. It is a pity, for instance, very nearly to drown out the last phrases of Falstaff's magnificent speech ending "banish plump Jack, and banish all the world" just because it seems theatrically effective to have the Sheriff knock at the door. There are two or three other moments when speeches are sacrificed to "action," and it is invariably a mistake. But this is something which it would be easy to "reform altogether"—as Mr. Evans had occasion to advise certain other actors in a different play.

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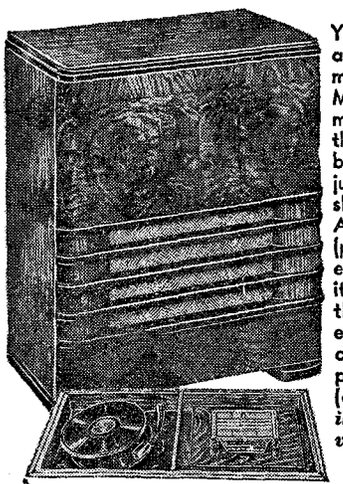

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RECORDS

IN VOLUME I of the Brahms Song Society, a subscription set now released by Victor (six records, $12), are a number of the best-known songs—"Von ewiger Liebe," "Die Mainacht," "Sonntag," "O wüsst' ich doch den Weg zurück," "Ständchen," and "Vergebliches Ständchen"; and a number of the less familiar ones—"Erinnerung," "Ein Sonnett," "Verrat," "An die Nachtigall," and the Four Serious Songs. This is one of the instances where what is best known is the best, and vice-versa, but even where one is not impressed by the song one is impressed by the way Kipnis sings it—the only exceptions being his treatments of "Ständchen" and "Vergebliches Ständchen."

Those who like Myra Hess's performance in Schumann's Piano Concerto will find it very well recorded in the new Victor set (four records, $6.50). For my taste Miss Hess's romantic style is excessive even for this romantic music, and all the spirit is taken out of the last movement by the sluggish pace of the performance and the not unrelated flabbiness of Miss Hess's own playing. Those who like Schumann's work should stick to the Columbia set.

Columbia has issued the little Concerto K. 37 for clavier and orchestra that eleven-year-old Mozart arranged from works by other composers, and that turns out to be charming as it is played by Mme Roesgen-Champion, harpsichordist, and the Paris Symphony under Gaillard (two records, $3.25). A first recording (two records, $3.25) of the highly original and fascinating music from Chabrier's "Dix pièces pittoresques" that Balanchine used in his ballet "Cotillon" offers, unfortunately, a performance by the London Philharmonic under Dorati which mistreats the music very badly. On the other hand, Beethoven's Piano Quartet Opus 16, excellently played by Schmitz and members of the Roth Quartet (four records, $6), is one of his fluent and characterless early essays in the eighteenth-century style.

Good things from Columbia are the two-record set ($4.50) of passages from "Hamlet" spoken by Maurice Evans; the single record ($1.50) of Mendelssohn's "Hebrides" Overture played by the London Philharmonic under Beecham; the single ($1.50) of the Habañera and Chanson Bohème from "Carmen" sung by Ninon Vallin with art that compensates for a voice which has lost some of its sensuous beauty.

At the outset I disclaimed any intention of doing Consumers' Union's job with phonographs—a job which I think Consumers' Union has done badly, and Consumers' Research no better. I could not undertake to judge all the constantly changing models put out by all the manufacturers, for I would then have no time and no space for my primary job, which is to deal with records. But I could, and thought I should, recommend a few machines in the various price ranges that gave what I considered good phonograph reproduction. And it must be understood that my idea of what is good in reproduction is different from most people's idea. They will not tolerate the sound of needle scratch; to eliminate it they are willing to eliminate the high overtones of the same vibration frequencies as scratch that enrich the reproduced tone and give it fidelity to the original; indeed they dislike highs—not only the overemphasized, piercing highs which Consumers' Union approves of, but even those which are merely clear and entirely agreeable. The machines that are made to satisfy these people give booming low notes, a mushy middle region, and weak high notes, and are therefore unable to reproduce what is being put on the records of today, defective as this is. What I think desirable in reproduced sound, on the contrary, is everything from high to low clear and balanced; and I have mentioned in previous issues —October 1 and 29 and December 3—the machines I have heard in which this can be had.

If you insist on an automatic record-changer, let it be a Garrard; but my advice is not to insist. You can escape the nuisance of getting up every five minutes by having your phonograph motor and pickup in a little box on a low table by your chair (a cabinet-maker built one of seven-eighth-inch-thick wood for me for $10). And if you do this you don't have to worry about a permanent or semi-permanent needle. If you are worrying about such a needle you are probably worrying about the Walco sapphire, about which I can say only that until now I have had conflicting reports which have made me unwilling to use it on my own records, and that if I get a report which makes me willing I will let you know. To what I wrote about needles in *The Nation* of October 1 I will add only that if you use steel, try full-tone and half-tone and adopt whichever gives better results. For a shadowgraphed, full-tone steel use the Actone 12A.

B. H. HAGGIN

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SPEAKERS: Chairman RT. REV. G. ASHTON OLDHAM, Bishop of Albany, Episcopal Church; JAMES B. CAREY, Secretary, C. I. O.; MELVYN DOUGLAS; CLARK M. EICHELBERGER, Chairman, Committee for Concerted Peace Efforts; JOSEPHINE SCHAIN, Chairman, National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War; JAMES T. SHOTWELL, President, League of Nations Association.

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Letters to the Editors

Mr. Niebuhr's Rebuttal

Dear Sirs: Following Mr. Russell's example, I will first record an agreement between us. He declares that when he hears the American commercial support of Japanese aggression defended by those who are full of horror about Munich he is "completely bewildered." I find this inconsistency just as bewildering as he does. But I reject the implied suggestion that this inconsistency is characteristic of American, in distinction from European, political opinion. Mr. Russell makes a good deal of national bias. He thinks we are academic in our discussion because we "expect to be remote from the actual theaters of war"; furthermore, he believes that "to an American the pacifist argument is less compelling; but Europeans naturally think first of their own continent, and for Europe nothing but disaster can result from war." There may be something in this suggestion, but I doubt it. After all, Mr. Kolnai is as European as Mr. Russell; and so is Thomas Mann, who is certain that the capitulation to Hitler at Munich represents real disaster for Europe. Furthermore, the Gallup poll reveals that 45 per cent of Mr. Russell's countrymen share our, rather than his, opinion about Munich.

Mr. Russell must surely know that opinions on this issue are colored more by class bias than by national bias, and that on the whole the classes whose general social objectives he shares disagree with him. Significantly Mr. Russell accepts the tory dictum that the alternatives at Munich were either war or capitulation. Evidence continues to multiply that this was not the case, that neither Germany nor Italy was prepared for a general war, and that they would have been forced to back down if they had been offered diplomatic resistance. There is in fact some evidence that Chamberlain and Daladier bowed to Hitler's weakness rather than to his strength, fearing the consequences of a breakdown in the dictatorial states.

This question is important because, in the end, Mr. Russell offers no clear pacifist alternative to a policy which would have involved the risk of war but might have avoided a war. Instead, he holds out the hope that at some future time Hitler may be led "into some enterprise in which success is impossible. Perhaps when that time comes his own country will desert him; perhaps he will provoke a war in which defeat will not be very difficult." This hope certainly offers no pacifist alternative; for a country cannot desert a leader without the risk of civil war, and an easy defeat would spell war as certainly as a difficult one. Tyrants can go on forever if neither their internal nor their external foes offer opposition to them; and any effective opposition involves, of course, the risk of war.

Mr. Russell, in other words, has no other suggestion but that it will be easier to oppose Mr. Hitler later than to oppose him now. Such a hope is not very plausible; for each fascist victory without war gives the inadequate economic foundation of the fascist military machine a little more substance. The possibility of Hitler being deserted by his own people was certainly as good last fall as it is likely to be for some years to come. Nor is the assertion that Hitler has lost Poland and will probably lose Italy very convincing. Hitler will lose Poland if he decides to take the Polish Ukraine, and he will have Poland as an ally if he decides that he needs Polish help against Russia badly enough to leave a part of the Ukraine under Polish sovereignty. The initiative lies with him. As for Italy, thieves do not fall out while the prospect of increasing their spoils is still good. The Rome-Berlin axis will hardly give way as long as the world yields to its united "dynamism."

But whatever our judgments may be on these admittedly speculative problems, Mr. Russell has clearly left the field of unambiguous pacifist principles in searching for a way out and is wallowing with the rest of us in the relativities of political pragmatism.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

New York, February 2

"Art Is Expression"

Dear Sirs: In connection with Mr. Vivas's review of Professor Collingwood's "The Principles of Art" in your issue for January 21, kindly allow me to point out that the formula "Art is expression" by no means necessarily implies "expression of emotion." In the traditional aesthetic, art has to do with cognition, and is the expression, not primarily of emotion, but of a thesis; nor can we judge of a work of art without first knowing what it was that was to be expressed. From this point of view a well-made table and an "elegant equation" are equally works of art: a work of art in which ornament exceeds the bounds of responsibility to its burden is called a sophistry; and the "beauty" of the work is the attractive aspect of its meaning or utility, and commensurate with the perfection of the expression of its purpose.

If works of art are colored by emotion and in turn moving, it is because they are brought into being not only *per artem* but also *ex voluntate.* In other words, although on the one hand *ars sine scientia nihil,* it is also true that *mens sine desiderio non intelligit* (a truth that many "objective" scholars would do well to take to heart).

Mr. Vivas's whole discussion takes for granted a proposition ("Art is the expression of emotion") which very many of those who would agree that art is expression could not accept; for these, historically the great majority, art is the expression of a thesis. I conclude with Quintillian's *Docti rationem componendi intelligunt, indocti voluptatem.*

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

Boston, February 3

Free Country

Dear Sirs: In Tallapoosa County, Alabama, early in October, a volunteer organizer for the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America, affiliated with the C. I. O., was arrested—a young Negro of seventeen, Willie Joe Hart. The arrest was made by Sheriff Corprew; the charge was highway robbery, as vicious a frame-up as has ever been heard of. The next morning the boy's father, a paid organizer for the union, appeared in the Sheriff's office to ask about his son's arrest. The Sheriff declined at first to talk about the case, but later in a back room he opened up.

According to an affidavit sworn to by Hart, the Sheriff said, "I got a list of every damn one of you . . . you're the ringleader . . . you look like a pretty intelligent nigger to be fooling around with a damn business like this . . . remember that nigger got killed right down there by you—remember old Flem Presley, how we went over and beat him up, don't you—remember Reese Gice, we

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had to pull him lower—you're going to be done the same way. That white man you let stay with you is going to get you into serious trouble . . . when I come down there after you we won't use pistols or rifles, this time we're going to use machine-guns and we're going to mow every God damn one of you down. . . . We're not going to have any of this Russian stuff down here—this is supposed to be a free country."

At the farcical trial Willie Joe was sentenced to fifteen years. Everyone connected with the trial knew he was innocent. The whole case was just a frame-up to stop the union's efforts to have the landlords' veto power on WPA jobs rescinded.

We need money to push the appeal which has already been started. Send any sum to R. T. Linsley, president, District 9, U. C. A. P. A. W. A., 1305 15th Street S., Birmingham, Alabama.

MILDRED LINSLEY,
Publicity and Educational Director

Washington, D. C., February 1

Work for Democracy!

Dear Sirs: May we ask the cooperation of your readers in a project which we feel will help in this critical time, when democracy is endangered on all sides? We all have a desire to do something concrete—an individual alone can accomplish little, a group of individuals can accomplish something, but a combination of groups can achieve much. Will you join this combination of groups to help keep democracy alive?

What to do?

1. Write to or interview the editor of your local newspaper, asking for a daily column: "The Things We Take for Granted," that is, our democratic way of life.

2. Write to or interview the ministers, priests, and rabbis of your community, asking them to preach the joys and privileges of democracy and religious tolerance. Make the young people and Sunday School children conscious of the great privilege of living in a democratic community. Train them to see the good in all races and creeds.

3. Commend your local, as well as the national, radio stations when they give programs stressing democracy. Ask them to do more short-wave broadcasting in Spanish for our South American neighbors.

4. Write to your favorite radio stars asking them to incorporate in their script references to the benefits derived from living in a democratic country.

5. Interest your schools and parent-teacher groups in this movement to make democracy a vital part of each community.

6. Ask the members of your groups to give of their individual time to do these five things so they too will be personally taking part in the necessary job of spreading the gospel of democracy. When press, movie, and radio realize that the public wants such action they will give it. Work for democracy!

MRS. WALTER JACOBS, President
MRS. DANIEL MALES, Secretary
Women's Conference of the Westchester Society for Ethical Culture

New Rochelle, N. Y., February 3

Oh, for a Daumier!

Dear Sirs: Margaret Marshall in "Notes by the Way" of January 14 suggested that *The Nation* was overlooking an important weapon in neglecting to include a timely cartoon or drawing in its weekly offerings. This lack has seemed to me the only major shortcoming of *The Nation*. When one examines the drawings made by Daumier for the Parisian publications of the last century, one deeply regrets that there is no modern counterpart. There is plenty of artistic talent in America today. Why can't it and *The Nation* get together?

ISABEL CHESNUT

New York, February 2

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KENNETH G. CRAWFORD is Washington correspondent of the New York *Post*.

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BERTRAND RUSSELL, well-known British pacifist, is the author of "Power," published last fall, and of many other books. He has recently been lecturing at the University of Chicago.

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HARRY BLOCK is a resident of Mexico.

EMANUEL HERTZ, author of "The Hidden Lincoln," has just published a new book, "Lincoln Talks."

BENEDICT WOLF is engaged in labor-relations work.

Correction

The Nation was inaccurate in stating that no non-Catholic spoke at the "Keep the Spanish Embargo" mass-meeting held in Washington on January 9. Irwin Laughlin, a Protestant, spoke at the meeting.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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